

*Thomasine Morris* — 1802

M A P S, P L A N S,

V I E W S A N D C O I N S,

*Morris & J. Oliver*

ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE

T R A V E L S

O F

A N A C H A R S I S T H E Y O U N G E R

I N

G R E E C E,

DURING THE MIDDLE OF THE FOURTH CENTURY BEFORE  
THE CHRISTIAN AERA.

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CRITICAL OBSERVATIONS  
ON THE  
MAPS OF ANCIENT GREECE:  
COMPILED  
FOR THE TRAVELS OF ANACHARSIS THE  
YOUNGER.  
By M. BARBIÉ DU BOGAGE

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**I**N geography, when a map is copied from another map, the imitation should be candidly avowed; and when it differs essentially from all other maps of the same country, the authorities on which such difference is founded should be assigned. In compliance with this principle, I shall proceed to explain, as succinctly as possible, the guides I have followed, and the reasons by which I have been influenced, in compiling the maps of Ancient Greece, which accompany the Travels of Anacharsis.

In this examination I shall not include the particular plans, because each of them would furnish matter for one, or even for more than one memoir. I must, however acknowledge, that those of the bat-

titles of Salamis and Platæa would have been very imperfect, if the Count de la Luzerne, the present minister for naval affairs, had not been so obliging as to favour me with his advice, and read the ancient authors with my drawings before him. I am likewise indebted to the Count de Choiseul-Gouffier, for his generous communications of all the plans and surveys he had taken in the country; and it is certain that the most accurate of my maps are those which are laid down after his plans. They are almost all by M. Foucherot, engineer for bridges and caufeways \*, who not only put into my hands his drawings and manuscript journals, but has also described to me, as distinctly as possible, the parts of his route where he had not time to take observations, and which were necessary to my design. The geographical collection for foreign affairs, in which the late Count de Vergennes permitted me to make researches, has also furnished me with a number of other plans of ports and islands; and I have found in the library of the king, though not the entire voyage of the Abbé Fourmont, yet at least several fragments of it, of which I have made every possible use.

The heirs of the late M. D'Anville have also communicated to me the notes of that celebrated geographer, to whom the science of geography is so much indebted, and whose very errors are respectable, since they only prove the imperfection of geographical knowledge at the time when he compiled his maps. I have also found in some geographical manuscripts of the late M. Freret, well known for his profound erudition, digested extracts from the Portulans † which I shall frequently have occasion to cite. It now only remains for me to

\* Ingénieur des ponts et chaussées — † Collections of charts, surveys and descriptions of different ports, roads, &c.



## ON THE MAPS.

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Speak of a work on geography, in modern Greek, by Meletius, archbishop of Athens, and a native of Joannina in Epirus, written about the end of the last century, and printed at Venice, in 1728, in one volume folio. I have made use of it in several instances, for the northern parts of Greece; but I could not for the Peloponnesus, because the maps of that peninsula were already engraved before this work fell into my hands. I must likewise add that, if my maps are less imperfect than those which have preceded them, they are indebted for a part of their merit to the author of the Travels of Anacharsis, who has assisted me in my enquiries, and discussed with me several essential points.

I likewise shall not include in this examination the chart of the Palus Maeotis and Pontus Euxinus, because time and events having furnished us with a considerable accession to our knowledge of those places since it has been completed, it would be necessary to lay it down entirely anew. I shall therefore confine myself to the general map of Greece, and the particular maps of each of its provinces.

I have made use of all the astronomical observations that I have been able to procure, when I have found them accurate; and, in defect of these, have had recourse to the distances given by the ancients and moderns. But it will be first necessary to give an account of the measures I have employed.

In all the maps, I have used, for the comparative scale, the common French leagues of 2500 toises, because they have appeared to me in general to correspond very nearly with the hour's journey employed by travellers in these countries. The Olympian stadium, which in my maps I estimate at 94 toises 5 feet, is deduced from the length which M. Le Roi assigns to the Grecian foot (*a*). As to the Pythian

(*a*) Le Roi, *Ruines de la Grèce*, t. i. p. 32.

stadium, it is that which M. D'Anville has before used, and which he fixes at one tenth part of the Roman mile, or four fifths of the Olympian stadium (*b*). I have named it Pythian, because it appears to me to have been principally in use in the north of Greece; and because, according to the remark of Spon (*c*), the stadium which still exists at Delphi is shorter than that of Athens. By the measures which we have of the latter, it appears that it was of the length, or nearly so, of the Olympian stadium. It is true that Censorinus (*d*), when comparing the stadia which he calls Italian, Olympian and Pythian, makes the latter consist of 1000 feet; while the first, according to him, only contains 625, and the second 600. But Aulus Gellius, who wrote in Greece, expressly says (*e*) that the Olympian was the longest of all the stadia; and, besides, M. D'Anville (*f*), and before him Lucas Poëtus, have already remarked that Censorinus here distinguishes the Italian from the Olympian stadium, only from not knowing the difference of the feet of which they were composed, and that 625 Roman feet are equal to 600 Grecian Olympian feet. We cannot therefore rely on the measure of the Pythian stadium of Censorinus. Yet if we take the 1000 feet for the measure of the diaulus, or double stadium, we shall still have, for the length of the Pythian stadium, 500 feet, which are exactly four fifths of 625 Roman feet. However this may be, the Pythian stadium, being shorter by one fifth than the Olympian stadium, must be equal to 75 toises, 5 feet, 2 inches, 4 $\frac{1}{3}$  lines, French measure, or, to avoid fractions, 76 toises (161 yards, 2 feet Eng.) as it has been estimated by M. D'Anville (*g*).

(*b*) D'Anville, *Trait. des Mes. Itin.*—(*c*) Spon, *Voyag. t. ii*, p. 38.—(*d*) Censor. de Die Nat. cap. 13.—(*e*) Aul. Gell. Noct. Att. lib. 1, cap. 1.—(*f*) D'Anville, *Trait. des Mes. Itin.* p. 14 et 70.—(*g*) Id. ibid. p. 71.

I have sometimes made use of a still shorter stadium, or that which M. D'Anville calls the Macedonian, or Egyptian (*b*), and which he estimates, in several places, from fifty toises to fifty-four, or even more.

The projection of the general map is on the hypothesis which considers the earth as a plane; at least the diminution of the degrees of longitude is calculated from the table at the end of the Supplements to the Astronomy of M. de la Lande (*i*); for the difference between this hypothesis and that of the spherical figure of the earth is almost insensible on the scale that I have chosen. The meridians being right lines on my map, their intervals have been ascertained by the tangents of the parallels 36 and 40; and I have always taken the degree of latitude at 57000 toises, in round numbers, as it has been estimated in the table of M. Schulze (*k*), for the latitude of 39 degrees. It is not necessary to mention that the curvature of the parallels has been determined and laid down on each meridian from the difference of the secant and the radius; but it may be proper to remark that, if the parallels are right lines on the particular maps, it is because it would otherwise have been very difficult to lay down the different bearings of which I shall have occasion to say more presently; and because, besides, the curvature would have been scarcely perceptible. I have likewise not marked the longitude on the particular maps; because, having no observation relative to it through the whole extent of country which they represent, it would have been necessary at least to reach Salonichi, from which it must have been computed.

(*b*) Id. Eclaircif. Geogr. sur l'Anc. Gaule, p. 162; Trait. des Mes. Itin. p. 93.—(*i*) De la Lande, Astronom. t. iv. p. 770.—(*k*) Id. ibid. p. 777.

The general map, on the contrary, is supported by several observations of longitude and latitude. The position of Constantinople, formerly Byzantium, is taken from the *Connoissance des Temps* for the year 1788 ; and the latitude and longitude of Saloniichi, formerly Therma, at the bottom of the Thermaic Gulf ; of Smyrna, on the coast of Asia ; and Candia and Canea, in the island of Crete, have been observed by father Feuillée. M. De Chazelles has given us the latitude of Rhodes, and other navigators have furnished me with that of several of the islands of the Archipelago.

I have not been able to make use of the observation of father Feuillée at Milo, because it appears to me erroneous. M. D'Anville had before judged it to be so, since the longitude which he assigns to that island in his maps differs by about twenty minutes from that of father Feuillée. The longitude of Melos in my map is almost the same with that in which it is laid down by M. D'Anville.

The particular maps have for their basis : 1. The observations of latitude taken by Vernon at Athens, Negropont, or Chalcis, in Eubœa, and Sparta. 2. Two observations of latitude, which I found in the papers of M. Freret. They were taken by M. De Chazelles, one in the port of the island of Zante, or Zacynthus, and the other to the south of Cape Matapan, or Tænarum, directly west of the most southern point of the island of Cythera. 3. The latitude of Volo, formerly Pagafæ, at the bottom of the Paganitic Gulf, in Theffaly, given by Dapper, though I know not whence he obtained it. 4. That of Corfu, from the tables of Riccioli and Pimentel. 5. That of Durazzo, or Epidamnus, in Illyricum, according to the table of Philip Lansberge. And, 6. The latitude and longitude of Saloniichi, to which I have had recourse to determine the longitude of all Greece in the general map.

The latitude of Athens, from which I have taken my departure for all my particular maps, according to the observations of Vernon (*l*), is  $38^{\circ} 5'$ . M. D'Anville mentions another observation, which places that city in  $38^{\circ} 4'$  only (*m*) ; but as I have not found it among his papers, I have followed that of Vernon.

I have adjusted to the position of Athens the plan of the bay and isle of Coulouri, which was taken by M. Foucherot in 1781, and which I have accurately copied in my plan of the battle of Salamis. I have also adjusted to the same position, a manuscript map of the gulf of Engia, taken by the marquis de Chabert, in 1776. This map has likewise given me the figure of all the islands of the Saronic Sea, the point of Cape Scyllæum, and even the position of the Acro-corinthus. The bearing of the promontory of Sunium from the summit of the mountain in Ægina, does not, indeed, accord with that given by Wheler (*n*) ; but the position of the Acro-corinthus is also in this map more southerly than that of Athens, by about four thousand one hundred and fifty toises, or a little more than four minutes of latitude, precisely as I found it in 1782. I have ascertained this position entirely from comparing and combining the bearings giving by Wheler of Athens and Mount Hymettus, from the Acro-corinthus (*o*), and of the Acro-corinthus from Mount Hymettus (*p*) ; for I then had not seen the map of M. De Chabert. The latitude of Corinth therefore cannot be, as the observation of Vernon makes it,  $38^{\circ} 14'$  (*q*) ; but must be about  $38^{\circ} 1' 30''$ , as it is laid down in my maps.

(*l*) Journal de Vernon, à la suite de la Reponse de Spon à la Critique de Guillet, p. 302.—(*m*) D'Anville, Anal. des Cotes de la Grèce.—(*n*) Wheler's Journey, book vi. p. 449.—(*o*) Id. ibid. p. 443.—(*p*) Id. ibid. p. 410.—(*q*) Journal de Vernon, p. 302.

The situation of Corinth thus determined, I have adjusted to its position a map of the Isthmus, taken geometrically by the Venetians in 1697, of which an engraving has been given by Bellin, in his description of the gulf of Venice and the Morea (*r*). This map, which is constructed with great care, has enabled me to assign with sufficient accuracy the situation of the promontory Olmiæ, though it is not found in it. Wheler has observed that this promontory bears north-north-east of the Acro-corinthus (*s*) ; and Livy says that a temple of Juno Acræa, built on this promontory, was only about seven Roman miles distant from Corinth (*t*).

Between Corinth and Argos, the ancients, according to Strabo, reckoned two hundred stadia (*u*) ; and, at present, about eight or nine hours are required to go, by the shortest road (*x*), from Corinth to Napoli di Romania, or Nauplia, which is but a little farther than Argos. In my maps, the distance between Corinth and Argos, in a right line, is one hundred and eighty Olympian stadia, and about seven hours and one third, of twenty-five hundred toises each, between Corinth and Nauplia.

Argos has always been placed in the maps almost due south of Corinth ; but the situation of the southern coast of Argolis, and in particular the position of the isle of Hydræa, has obliged me to lay it down much more to the west. The citadel of Argos, Nauplia, or Napoli, and Tiryns, at present Old Napoli, are laid down from observations, taken on the spot by M. Foucherot, from two different stations ; first, on coming out of a defile near Mycenæ, and afterwards from the city of Argos itself. From the latter station M. Foucherot has also ob-

(*r*) Bellin, Descript. du Golfe de Ven. pl. xlviij. p. 230.—

(*s*) Wheler's Journey, book vi. p. 443.—(*t*) Liv. lib. 32, cap. 23.—(*u*) Sirab. lib. 8, p. 377.—(*x*) Peacock, t. iii. p. 175. Foucherot, Voyag. manuscrit.

served the bearing of that part of the coast of Laconia which advances most to the east. All these observations have been taken according to the north indicated by the compass ; but I have rectified them to the true meridian, by allowing for the variation of the needle  $13^{\circ} 15'$  towards the west, which was found to be its variation in these countries, by M. De Chabert, in 1776.

To the situation of Nauplia, or Napoli, I have adjusted two manuscript charts taken, in 1735, by the late M. Verguin, engineer in the naval service. They have furnished me with the coast and islands of Argolis, from the confines of Laconia to Cape Acra. I shall say nothing of the merit of these charts, but content myself with referring to M. D'Anville (*y*), who did not make use of them till he had ascertained their accuracy. Some observations that have been taken of the bearings of the neighbouring places from Cape Acra, and the islands of Tiparenus and Aristera, now the isles of Especi and Especi-Poulo, have given me the position of Mount Buporthmos, and the islands Aperopia and Hydræa. These observations, which I have found among the papers of M. Freret, have appeared to me to be by M. Verguin, which has induced me to make use of them with confidence. The figure of these islands, and that of the coast opposite to Scyllæum, are taken from another manuscript chart, drawn by the pilot Vidal, in 1735, which I have compared with that of this same coast, given by Desmoureaux (*z*).

(*y*) D'Anville, Anal. des Côtes de la Grèce.—(*z*) Extrait du Voyag. de Desmoureaux à la suite du Voyag. de Corn. le Bruyn, t. v. p. 466.

The situation of Hermione, now Castris, is likewise ascertained by its distance from Træzen, or Damala. M. Fourmont says (*a*), that he employed four or five hours in going from one of these places to the other. That of the island Hydræa is also given by the observation of Tournefort (*b*), of its bearing from his station in the island of Zia, formerly Ceos; and the latter is laid down from its distance from the promontory of Sunium, and from the bearings observed by Wheler from that promontory (*c*) which extend to Anti-Milo.

Leaving Argos, Pliny has enabled me to determine the breadth of Peloponnesus. He says that the distance from Argos to Olympia, crossing Arcadia, is sixty-eight Roman miles (*d*). I have taken these in a right line; because, after having considered the road which passes through Megalopolis, I have found that it does not depart much from a right line, and yet gives a considerably greater distance. In fact, the table of Peutinger (*e*) gives twelve miles from Olympia to Melænæ, twenty-two from Melænæ to Megalopolis, and twenty from Megalopolis to Tegea. From Tegea to Argos the distance is wanting; but this is easily supplied from modern travellers. M. Foucherot (*f*) reckons ten hours journey between Napoli di Romania and Tripolizza; and we shall be convinced that the latter town is near the place where Tegea stood, if, with the abbé Fourmont, we find the site of Tegea in Palæo-Tripolizza, or Old Tripolizza. We may therefore reckon eighty-seven or eighty-eight Roman miles

(*a*) Fourmont, *Voyag. manuscrit de l'Argolide*.—(*b*) Tournef. *Voyag. t. i. p. 341*.—(*c*) Wheler's *Journey*, book vi. p. 449.—(*d*) Plin. lib. 4, cap. 6, t. i. p. 196.—(*e*) Peuteng. Tab. Segm. 7, edit. Scheyb. Vindob. 1753, in fol.—(*f*) Foucherot, *Voyag. Manuscrit*.

from Olympia to Argos, or Nauplia, passing through Megalopolis ; and thus the reduction of the distance to sixty-eight in a right line will still be very great.

Tripolizza is at present the capital of the Morea, or Peloponnesus, and the residence of a pacha, or mouhasil, who is governor of the whole country. It is a modern town ; but Leondari is not the ancient Megalopolis, as has been hitherto supposed, on the authority of M. De Fourmont (g). Leondari is built on the declivity of Mount Taygetus, and Megalopolis was situated in the plain beyond the Alpheus. I am therefore inclined to believe that the site of the latter city is at the place called Sina-no, which M. Fourmont has taken, without sufficient proof, for the ancient Mantinea (h) ; and within the extensive circuit of which he says there are many ruins (i). Leondari is probably the ancient Leuctra mentioned in Xenophon (k), which shut in one of the entrances of Laconia. Olympia subsists in a small place now called Miraca. Mr. Chandler and M. Foucherot (l) found there but few ruins ; but M. Fauvel, who accompanied M. Foucherot, has been more successful in a second journey, which he made in 1787, by order of the count de Choiseul-Gouffier. He then discovered the hippodrome, the stadium, the theatre, and the temple of Jupiter ; so that we shall soon be in possession of the exact dimensions of all these relics of antiquity.

(g) Fourmont, Lett. Manuscrit à la Bibl. du Roi.—(h) Fourmont, ibid.—(i) Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. vii. p. 356.—(k) Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 6, p. 607.—(l) Chandler's Travels in Greece, chap. lxxvi. p. 294. Foucherot, Voyag. Manuscrit.

To place Olympia in my maps, its distance from Argos, however, was not sufficient; it was necessary also to obtain its latitude. This has been deduced from that of Zante, or Zacynthus, in the island of the same name; observed, as I have already said, by M. de Chazelles: which observation, taken in the harbour, directly to the east of the castle (*m*), fixes the latitude of Zante  $37^{\circ} 46' 32''$ .

The road of Zante, from the city to Cape Basilio, the eastern extremity of the island, has been laid down from a plan taken by M. Verguin; and able navigators, according to Bellin (*n*), when failing between this cape and that of Tornese, anciently Chelonites, on the Continent, have observed the former to bear south-west, and the latter north-east. The distance between these two capes is given differently by different travellers; but I have made it, with Texeira, exactly ten Italian miles (*o*).

From Cape Chelonites, Strabo says that two hundred and eighty stadia were reckoned to the mouth of the Alpheus (*p*). The Portulans, from several bearings, give reason to conclude, on the whole, that the direction was south-east by south; and I have therefore placed the mouth of the Alpheus in this direction from Cape Chelonites. I have not, however, in my maps, allowed more than two hundred and twenty-five Olympian stadia for the distance between these two points; because the coast, in this space, makes great bays, and a great projection; and because, besides, Mr. Chandler and M. Foucherot, who made the journey by land from

(*m*) Note Manusc. de M. Freret.—(*n*) Bellin, Descript. du Golfe de Ven.—(*o*) Texeira, Viage, p. 208: en Amberes, 1610, in 8vo.—(*p*) Strab. lib. 8, p. 343.

Pyrgō, near the mouth of the Alpheus, to Chiarenza, anciently Cyllene, not far from Cape Chelonites, give reason to believe that they did not employ more than nine hours in going from one of these places to the other (*q*).

From the mouth of the Alpheus to Olympia I have followed a small drawing which M. Foucherot drew for me of his route; and which agrees with Pausanias, who reckons a hundred and twenty stadia from Olympia to Letrini (*r*). The latter place was at the mouth of the Alpheus; we must therefore correct Strabo, who makes the distance between the mouth of that river and Olympia but eighty stadia (*s*).

The greater part of the Portulans, Levanto (*t*), and many maps, agree in making Prodano, anciently the island Prote, on the coast of Messenia, bear south-south-east of Cape Basilico, in the isle of Zante; and also of Cape Chelonites. It is precisely in this direction, with respect to the former of these capes, that I have placed that island in my maps; but for the distance I have followed in preference the Portulan of Romagna, because that alone can be made to agree with the distances taken by land; those given by the others being either too great or too little.

From Prote to Pylos in Messenia, at present old Navarins, or Zonchio, three Portulans give for the distance ten miles. These miles are Greek miles, and are consequently reduced in my maps to six Italian miles and two thirds. The direction is east-south-east.

(*q*) Chandler's Travels in Greece, chap. 73, p. 284. Foucherot, Voyag. Manus.—(*r*) Pausan. lib. 6, cap. 22, p. 510.—(*s*) Strab. lib. 8, p. 343.—(*t*) Levanto, Specchio del Mare, p. 106.

To the position of Pylos I have afterwards adjusted two manuscript maps by M. Verguin, of which M. D'Anville has also made use (*u*). I could not follow more accurate guides than these maps: they have conducted me to Cape Gallo, anciently the promontory of Acritas, at the entrance of the gulf of Messenia. Thence it was easy for me to ascend to Corone, now Coron. That city was somewhat more than a hundred and sixty stadia from the promontory of Acritas, according to Pausanias (*x*); and travellers (*y*) reckon by land from Modon, anciently Mothonæ, to Coron, six hours journey, or eighteen Italian miles.

From Coron navigators, according to Bellin (*z*), have observed Cape Gros, anciently Thyrides, in Laconia, to bear south-east and five degrees to the south. The variation appears to me corrected in this bearing. This cape is not far from Tenarum, now Cape Matapan. Pausanias reckons only seventy stadia between them (*a*); and Bellin says that Matapan is distant from Cape Gallo, or the promontory of Acritas, thirty miles, or ten marine leagues, to the east-south-east (*b*). This distance, which is the breadth of the entrance of the gulf of Messenia, is much greater according to the Portulans. Pliny, however, makes it less (*c*); on which account I have adhered to the measure given by Bellin, and employed it in a right line in my maps.

(*u*) D'Anville, Anal. des Côtes de la Grèce, p. 20.—

(*x*) Pausan. lib. 4, cap. 34, p. 365 et 367.—(*y*) Breydenbach, Peregr. Terr. Sanct. p. 31: Mogunt. 1486, in fol. Pellegrin. Voyag. de la Morée, p. 7. Foucherot. Voyag. Manusc.

(*z*) Bellin, Descript. du Golfe de Ven. p. 202.—(*a*) Pausan. lib. 3, cap. 25, p. 276.—(*b*) Bellin. ibid. p. 200.—(*c*) Plin. lib. 4, cap. 5, t. i. p. 193.

From Tænarum it was not difficult for me to gain the promontory of Malea. M. Verguin, from the latter cape, had taken the bearing of the former, from two different stations ; and thus determined the position of the promontory of Tænarum with respect to that of Malea. By taking the opposite directions, I have ascertained the position of Malea from Tænarum. All the environs of the former cape are laid down from a manuscript chart of the same M. Verguin, which has given me the coast from the promontory of Malea, now Cape St. Angelo, to the isle of Cervi, inclusively ; as also the northern coast of the island of Cerigo, or Cythera. To this chart is added another of the anchoring place of St. Nicholas, anciently the Phœnician port, in the same island of Cythera. The remainder of the island is taken from Coronelli (*d*), whose description has been compared with other materials. The isle of Cervi was formerly only a peninsula, the most southerly point of which was called Onu-gnathos, or the jaw-bone of the afs.

In the interior part of Peloponnesus, Lacedæmon, or Sparta, is laid down from its distance from Megalopolis. Pausanias says that from Sparta to Olympia the distance is six hundred and sixty stadia (*e*) ; and Livy informs us that the road passed through Megalopolis (*f*). We have seen the table of Peutinger reckons, in two distances, thirty-four Roman miles from Olympia to Megalopolis. These thirty-four miles make two hundred and seventy-two Olympian stadia ; which, subducted from six hundred and sixty, leave three hundred and eighty-eight stadia for the distance from Megalopolis to Sparta. The distance in my maps, in a right line, is three hundred and thirty

(*d*) Coronelli, *Descript. de la Morée*, p. 82 : Paris, 1687.  
in fo.—(*e*) Pausan. lib. 6, cap. 16, p. 492—(*f*) Liv. lib. 43,  
cap. 28.

stadia; and Sparta is placed in the latitude of  $37^{\circ} 10'$  N. according to the observation of Vernon (g).

It has not been the same with Coron: I have not been able to place this city in the latitude observed by Vernon (h). The southern part of Peloponnesus, however, as I have already said, rests on an observation of latitude made at sea by M. de Chazelles, to the south of Cape Tænarum or Metapan, and directly west of the most southern point of the island of Cythera (i). This observation ascertains the latitude of the extreme point of Cerigo to be  $36^{\circ} 10'$  N.

In the northern part of Peloponnesus, the situation of Dyme in Achaia is determined by its distance from Olympia. From Olympia to Elis there were two roads: one through the plain, three hundred stadia in length (k); and the other, which was the shortest, over the mountain. By the latter it was reckoned twelve miles, or ninety-six stadia, from Olympia to Pylos near Elis (l), and seventy or eighty stadia from Pylos to Elis itself (m); in the whole, a hundred and sixty-six, or a hundred and seventy-six, stadia, from Olympia to Elis. From the latter city, proceeding into Achaia, Pausanias reckons a hundred and fifty-seven stadia (n) to the passage of the river Larissus; and he adds (o) that, from this river to Dyme, it is about four hundred stadia. All these distances appear to me accurate except the last, which cannot be made to agree with the measures taken at sea. Paulmier has indeed perceived that there must be an error in this number (p); but he has not corrected it. I would propose to substitute in the Greek

(g) Journal de Vernon, p. 302.—(h) Id. ibid.—(i) Note Manusc. de M. Freret.—(k) Strab. lib. 8, p. 367. Pausan. lib. 6, cap. 22, p. 510.—(l) Plin. lib. 4, cap. 5, t. i. p. 193.—(m) Diod. Sic. lib. 14, p. 248. Pausan. lib. 6, p. 509.—(n) Pausan. ibid. cap. 26, p. 520.—(o) Id. lib. 7, cap. 17, p. 564.—(p) Palmer, Exercit. p. 412.

the numeral letter which denotes forty for that which signifies four hundred; and we shall then have three hundred and sixty-three, or three hundred and seventy-three, stadia, for the distance from Olympia to Dyme. My maps give more than three hundred and twenty in a right line.

I could not place Dyme at a greater distance from Olympia. Dyme was only sixty stadia from the promontory of Araxus, according to Strabo (*q*); and the Venetian Portulan reckons only eighteen miles in a right line from this cape to Chelonites, the situation of which has already been determined.

M. Verguin has taken the plan of an anchoring place situated to the east of the promontory of Araxus, now Cape Papa, which extends to Dyme. From this anchoring place the town of Patras, anciently Patræ, has been observed, according to Bellin (*r*), to bear east by north. The variation appears to me to have been corrected in this observation. But the distance from Dyme to Patræ, according to several ancient authors, is a hundred and twenty stadia (*s*): from the promontory of Araxus to Patræ, therefore, the distance was a hundred and eighty stadia. In my maps it is a hundred and sixty-four, or a hundred and sixty-five, in a right line.

The situation of Patræ is also determined by its distance from the isthmus of Corinth. This distance is seven hundred and twenty stadia, according to Agathemerus (*t*); and there is no reason to suspect an error, since Pliny estimates it at the same. The latter says that the length of the gulph of Corinth, or of the sea of Crissa, to the isthmus, is eighty-five miles (*u*); and he adds, that from the promontory of

(*q*) Strab. lib. 8, p. 337.—(*r*) Bellin, *Descript. du Golfe de Ven.* p. 186.—(*s*) Apollod. in Steph. Frag. voc. Δόμη. Strab. ibid. p. 386. Pausan. lib. 7, cap. 18, p. 567, 568. Peutинг. Tab. Segm. 7.—(*t*) Agathem. lib. 1, cap. 4, p. 10, ap. Geograph. Min. Græc. t. ii.—(*u*) Plin. lib. 4, cap. 4, t. i. p. 192.

Rhium it is five miles to Patræ (*x*) ; in the whole, ninety miles, which make exactly seven hundred and twenty stadia. This measure also agrees very well with some particular distances on the coast of Achaia, given by Pausanias and the Peutinger table (*y*). In my maps, the distance in a right line between the part of the isthmus on the sea of Crissia where a wall terminates, and the position of Patræ, is six hundred and sixty-five stadia. It may perhaps be thought that I have not made a sufficient allowance in reducing the itinerary measure to a right line ; but it is to be observed that the coast is almost straight, and makes no other elbow than that of the cape of Sicyon. This cape has been observed by Wheler (*z*) to bear north-west by north of the Acro-corinthus ; and the Greek and Venetian Portulans place Patræ in the direction of west by south, and even west-south-west, from that cape.

In front of Patræ is the island of Cefalonia, anciently Cephallenia, which, according to Strabo (*a*), is only eighty stadia distant from the promontory of Chelonites in Peloponnesus, and sixty from the island of Zacynthus. The figure of it is taken from a Venetian chart, the same that M. D'Anville has made use of (*b*). This chart, which appears to me to have been drawn with care, has also furnished me with a part of the island of Ithaca, now Teaki ; and the ports situated in the north of the latter island are laid down from a plan taken by M. Verguin.

From Cephallenia Strabo again reckons fifty stadia to Leucadia (*c*). But this distance is erroneous : for navigators estimate it at not less than three marine leagues, or nine Italian miles (*d*) ; at which distance

(*x*) Plin. lib. 4, cap. 5, p. 193.—(*y*) Pausan. lib. 7, passim. Peuting. Tab. segm. 7.—(*z*) Wheler's Journey, b. 6, p. 442.—(*a*) Strab. lib. 10, p. 456 et 458.—(*b*) D'Anville, Anal. des Côtes de la Grèce, p. 10, 21.—(*c*) Strab. lib. 10, p. 456.—(*d*) Coronelli, Descript. de la Morée, p. 65. Bellin. Descript. du Golfe de Ven. p. 163.

I have placed these two islands in my map, following the bearing which the Venetian Portulan has given between the most northern cape of Cefalonia and the most southern of Leucadia. The latter island is now called St. Maura, and was long only a peninsula : it is laid down from a map of Coronelli's, of which M. D'Anville has also made use (*e*). The coast of the opposite continent, towards Alyzia, as well as the islands between that and Leucadia, are taken from a plan by M. Verguin.

The town Leucas was not situated in the same place as that of St. Maura is at present. The ruins of it are still to be seen at some distance on the sea shore, and in a place where the island approaches nearest to the main land. It was built by the Corinthians, on the isthmus by which the island anciently was joined to the continent ; but the isthmus having been cut through, the town remained on the island, and the channel took the name of Dioryctos. According to the accounts of ancient authors (*f*), the distance from Patræ to Leucas was estimated at seven hundred stadia ; but in my map it is but five hundred and seventy-five, in a right line, because the navigation from one of these ports to the other is much embarrassed ; and because, besides, the distance from Naupactus to Dioryctos, according to the table of Peutinger, would not allow me to make it more.

Naupactus, now called Lepanto, lies more to the east than Patræ. This city is situated on the sea of Crissa, not far from the promontory of Antirrhium. From it the Peutinger table (*g*) gives, at several distances, seventy-eight Roman miles to Dioryctos. These seventy-eight miles amount to six hundred

(*e*) D'Anville, Anal. des Côtes de la Grèce, p. 10.—(*f*) Polyb. ap. Strab. lib. 2. p. 105. Plin. lib. 2, cap. 108, t. i. p. 124; lib. 4, cap. 4, p. 192. Agathem. lib. 1, cap. 4, p. 10, ap. Geogr. Min. Græc. t. ii.—(*g*) Peuting. Tab. segm. 7.

and twenty-four Olympian stadia; and I have made the distance more than six hundred, in a right line.

On the road from Patræ to Dioryctos, the Achelous, now called Aspro-potamo, or the White River, was crossed. Coronelli has given a map of a part of the course of this river (*b*), which was taken in consequence of an incursion that the Venetians made into Acarnania and Ætolia in 1684. I have found in it the track of the ancient road; but as the scale of it is erroneous, I have rectified it from the distances pointed out by M. Foucherot (*i*), who has travelled through the country; and have adjusted the whole map to the position of *Œniadæ*, which was situated at the mouth of the Alpheus, and distant one hundred stadia from the promontory Araxus in Peloponnesus (*k*).

This map extends to the ruins of Stratos, which was built on the right bank of the river, at the distance of more than two hundred stadia from its mouth, according to Strabo (*l*). Yet the same author says, soon after (*m*), that Stratos was half-way between Alyzia and Anaëtorium; and the latter city stood on the gulf of Ambracia. Paulmier has endeavoured (*n*) to reconcile these two passages: but his usual penetration appears here to have forsaken him; he offers nothing satisfactory. If he had attended to the respective situation of the places, he might easily have perceived that the second passage is corrupted; and that instead of *Αράξιον*, we should read *Αυτίππιον*.

From Leucas, Strabo reckons two hundred and forty stadia to the temple of Actium, at the entrance of the gulf of Ambracia, on the coast of Acarnania (*o*). This distance appears to me erroneous;

(*b*) Coronelli, Descript. de la Morée, p. 69.—(*i*) Foucherot, Voyag. Manuscrit.—(*k*) Polyb. Hist. lib. 4, p. 329.—(*l*) Strab. lib. 10, p. 450.—(*m*) Id. ibid.—(*n*) Palmer. Græc. Antiq. p. 388.—(*o*) Strab. lib. 10, p. 451.

for the Peutinger table only gives fifteen miles between Dioryctos and Nicopolis, which was afterwards built by Augustus, on the other side of the gulf, in Epirus (*p*) ; and the Portulans and travellers (*q*) compute the distance between the fortresses of St. Maura and that of La Preyeza at only twelve miles. These miles, which can only be Greek miles, I have laid down in a right line on my map. For the bearing I have followed that given by Bellin (*r*).

The gulf of Ambracia, at present the gulf of Arta, is laid down from a large map of Coronelli's, the same that M. D'Anville has made use of (*s*) ; but, like him, I have been obliged to correct its scale, and adjust the map to the measures which Polybius has given of this gulf (*t*).

In this latitude Greece is shut in between two gulfs ; that of Ambracia to the west, and that of Malia to the east ; so that the interval that separates them is considered by Strabo as an isthmus, of which he gives the measure (*u*), which he makes to be eight hundred stadia from the bottom of the gulf of Ambracia to Thermopylæ on the Maliac gulf. This measure has enabled me to determine the point of Thermopylæ, which is also given by other means. The same author says that from the bottom of the gulf of Crissa the distance to Thermopylæ, in a right line, is five hundred and eight stadia (*x*). What Strabo calls the gulf of Crissa is the sea of Crissa, or of Alcyon, which was afterwards named the gulf of Corinth. He says nothing of any particular gulf of Crissa, near Delphi ; and perhaps I have been

(*p*) Peutinger. Tab. segm. 7.—(*q*) Des Hayes, Voyag. du Levant, p. 467 : Paris, 1632, 4°. Spon. Voyag. t. i. p. 81. —(*r*) Bellin. Descript. du Golfe de Ven. p. 161. —(*s*) D'Anville, Anal. des Côtes de la Grèce, p. 10. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxxii. p. 513. —(*t*) Polyb. Hist. lib. 4, p. 327. —(*u*) Strab. lib. 8, p. 334. Id. Epitom. lib. 8, p. 112, ap. Geogr. Min. Græc. t. ii. —(*x*) Id. ibid.

wrong in representing it distinct from this sea in my maps. Lastly, the bottom of the gulf of Crissa, in Strabo, is in the environs of Pagæ, in Megaris (*y*). In my maps the distance from Thermopylæ to this city, in a right line, is four hundred and seventy stadia, which does not exactly agree with that given by Strabo; but the comparison of the bearings, of which I shall speak presently, would not permit me to admit a greater. The first distance is laid down in a right line within about twelve stadia.

The bottom of the sea of Crissa is determined—

1. From the distance from Pagæ to Megara, or to Nisæa (*z*).
2. From that between Creusis in Bœotia and the promontory of Olmiæ near Corinth (*a*).
3. From the bearing of this same promontory, as observed by Wheler (*b*), from the harbour of San Basilio, which lies to the east of that anciently called Eutretus, and now Livadostro.

For the interior part of Attica, Bœotia, and Phocis, it would at first view seem to admit of no doubt that we ought to follow the map of Wheler; but if we examine it with attention we shall find that it is not to be confided in. The map of this traveller differs essentially from his journal. The bearings he has given in the latter are not found the same in the map. I shall instance only in the position of Corinth. We have seen that, according to the bearings given by Wheler, that city must be more to the south than Athens; yet in the map, in whatever manner it be taken, it will be found to lie more to the north. I know well that the difference of latitude found between these two cities on the map may be diminished by taking the north for that indicated by the compass; but, even thus, Corinth cannot be brought

(*y*) Strab. lib. 8, p. 336, 379; lib. 9, p. 409.—(*z*) Id. ibid. p. 334. Id. Epitom. lib. 8, p. 111, ap. Geogr. Min. Græc. t. ii. Peuting. Tab. segm. 7.—(*a*) Strab. lib. 9, p. 409.—(*b*) Wheler's Journéy, b. 6, p. 472.

down to its true place. It is the same with other places observed by Vernon. If we take the map of Wheler as it stands, we shall find they are all in the latitudes he has given ; Wheler has then adjusted his map to the observations of Vernon. But of this proofs are unnecessary ; Wheler has himself told us so in his preface. He has not perceived that these latitudes, for the most part erroneous, destroy the accuracy of all his own operations. Besides, how could he lay down places according to their latitude on a map taken by the compass, without correcting the variation ? We can therefore only make use of this map partially ; it is rather to be had recourse to as containing memorandums that have their value, than as an exact representation of the country.

I have taken all the bearings given by Wheler ; and have followed the English original, because the French translation is frequently faulty. Wheler indeed has only given the points of the compass, which leave us in an uncertainty of  $11^{\circ} 15'$  ; but, by comparing a great number of these bearings, I have been able to ascertain some points with tolerable accuracy, and have reason to believe that I have restored his map to what it was before he had adjusted it to the observations of Vernon. I have only corrected, in all his bearings, the variation ; which I have taken, with M. D'Anville (c), at a point of the compass towards the west.

The plans of M. Foucherot have given me the summits of Mount Pentelicus, Mount Hymettus, and the Cerate Mountains. I have taken my station with Wheler on the two latter, and also at the Acro-corinthus, to determine the position of Cithæron. From Cithæron and the Acro-corinthus I have determined Helicon, and also the summit of Parnassus called Lycoria, which has been observed by Wheler

(c) D'Anville, Anal. des Côtes de la Grèce, p. 25.

to be directly north of the Acro-corinthus (*d*). From Cithæron, Helicon, and Parnassus, I have ascertained the position of Mount Ptous, in Boeotia; from the latter and Cithæron, Mount Teumessus, near Chalcis, or Negropont; from Cithæron and Mount Hymettus, Mount Parnes; from Mount Ptous, several mountains in the island of Eubœa, and one near Opus, now called Taland. Lastly, from the Acro-corinthus I have determined several capes which run out into the sea of Crissa. Among all these situations, the position of Chalcis or Negropont in Eubœa is found in the latitude given by Vernon (*e*); but I have not been able to place Thebes or Delphi in the latitudes assigned them by that traveller.

From Turco-Chorio, anciently Elatea, Wheler has observed the summit of Parnassus to bear south by west (*f*): by taking the opposite direction I have determined the position of Elatea from Parnassus. Turco-chorio is laid down in a map of Thermopylæ, taken in 1781, by M. Foucherot; so that it has been easy to adjust this map to mine. It is the same which I have copied, in part, in the plan of the pass of Thermopylæ. It has conducted me to Zeitoun, and has besides given me the point of the island of Eubœa. Zeitoun is the ancient Lamia, as is proved by an inscription given by Paul Lucas (*g*); but the country in the environs is scarcely to be known for the same. The Sperchiüs no longer flows in the same channel as formerly; the marshes which existed in the time of Herodotus are now become firm ground; the Maliac gulf fills up every day; and the strait of Thermopylæ is at present much wider than it was in the time of Xerxes.

From Athens to Thermopylæ many of the distances which are given by ancient authors have ap-

(*d*) Wheler's Journey, b. 4, p. 318.—(*e*) Journal de Vernon, p. 302.—(*f*) Whel. ibid. b. 6, p. 462.—(*g*) Paul Lucas, Second Voyag. t. i. p. 405. Inscript. 52.

peared to me to be computed in Pythian stadia, or stadia which are shorter by one fifth than the Olympian. I shall here only instance in some that are given near Thermopylæ; by comparing which with the same distances in Roman measures, we shall perceive that the stadia in which they are estimated are in the proportion of ten to the mile.

Herodotus, when describing this famous pass, reckons forty-five stadia from Anticyra, along the Sperchius, to Trachis (*b*); and Strabo says that the Sperchius is distant from Lamia thirty stadia (*i*); in the whole, seventy-five stadia from Trachis to Lamia. But Trachis having been destroyed, according to the same Strabo (*k*), Heraclea was built at about six stadia distance. Subduct these six stadia from seventy-five, and there will remain sixty-nine for the distance from Lamia to Heraclea; and Livy says expressly, speaking of these two cities, *intersunt septem millia fermè passuum* (*l*). The same proportion is likewise found in the distance from Heraclea to the hot springs at Thermopylæ. This distance is forty stadia, according to Thucydides (*m*), which measure is confirmed by Strabo (*n*); yet Pliny makes it only four Roman miles (*o*).

An observation taken by M. Foucherot, at Thermopylæ, of the bearing of that part of the coast of Thessaly which extends farthest to the south, has given me the direction of the channel which separates this country from Eubœa. This channel is much longer than it is represented in the greater part of maps, but it is extremely narrow; for I have not been able to employ the eighty stadia assigned by Herodotus (*p*) for the distance between Artemisium and Aphetae, but by taking them at only fifty-three toises each, as M. D'Anville has done in his map of

(*b*) Herodot. lib. 7, cap. 198.—(*i*) Strab. lib. 9, p. 433.—

(*k*) Id. ibid. p. 428.—(*l*) Liv. lib. 36, cap. 25.—(*m*) Thucyd. lib. 3, cap. 92.—(*n*) Strab. lib. 9, p. 429.—(*o*) Plin. lib. 4, cap. 7, t. i. p. 199.—(*p*) Herodot. lib. 8, cap 8.

ancient Greece. The length I have given to this channel is the same with that of the coast of Eubœa which borders it ; and this coast extends the space of thirty-six Italian miles, according to a manuscript chart of the Archipelago, drawn by the pilot Gautier, in 1738. On the most northern cape of the island of Eubœa formerly stood the city of Cerinthus, the name of which has been corrupted by mariners into that of Capo Rhento.

Several maps make this cape bear due north of the promontory of Sepias, now cape St. George ; and the chart of Gautier places the latter directly south of the point of Caffander, anciently the promontory of Posidium, in the peninsula of Pallene. The distance from the promontory of Posidium to Sepias appears to me to be about thirty-five Italian miles ; Gautier makes it more ; but it cannot much exceed this, for the latitude of the promontory of Posidium is determined by that of Therma, now Salonichi, at the bottom of the Thermaic gulf. The whole coast from that city to the promontory of Cannstreum, now Canonistro, is laid down from a chart taken geometrically, in 1738, by M. Le Roi, an engineer who accompanied the marquis d'Antin. The map of M. Le Roi has also furnished me with the mouths of the Axius, and even the coast of Theffaly, though the latter be only laid down from estimation.

The longitude and latitude of Salonichi have been observed by father Feuillée (*q*). It is situated  $20^{\circ} 48'$  east of Paris, and in latitude  $40^{\circ} 41' 10''$  N. From the position of this place I have determined the longitude of all Greece, in my general map.

The summit of Mount Olympus, in Theffaly, is ascertained by its bearing from Salonichi. The valley of Tempe is given from a manuscript map of

(*q*) Mem. de l'Acad. des Sciences, ann. 1702, p. 9.

Mr. Stuart, a learned Englishman, who has published the Antiquities of Athens ; and the bottom of the Pagetic gulf is determined, as I have already said, from the latitude of Pagæ, now the castle of Volo. The latitude of this castle is  $39^{\circ} 21'$ , according to Dapper (*r*). I know not whence he obtained this observation, but it appears to me sufficiently accurate. The isles Sciathos, Scopelos, and the others near to them, are taken from the chart of Gautier ; except that of Scyros, which is laid down from the plan given of it by the Count de Choiseul-Gouffier (*s*).

On the western coast I stopped at the gulf of Ambracia. I shall now proceed to determine the position of the island of Corcyra, at present Corfu. Coronelli has given a map of this island, which is sufficiently minute ; but the scale of it is defective. M. D'Anville has corrected it (*t*), by comparing it with a plan taken by M. Verguin. I have done the same ; and have afterwards adjusted to the position of this island the coast of Epirus, from Buthrotum to the promontory Chimærium, and even beyond. The greater number of the Portulans place the islands called Paxæ to the east and south-east of Corfu ; they are nevertheless laid down very nearly south in all the maps, and so they are found in mine. In giving their figure I have followed a map by Van Keulen.

From these islands the Greek and compiled Portulans make Cape Sidero, the most westerly point of Cephallenia, to bear south by east ; and Levanto says (*u*) this is in general the course steered in sailing from Corfu to Cefalonia. The distance is different, according to different authors ; but it is determined by the latitude of Corfu, which, according to the ta-

(*r*) Dapper, *Descript. de l'Archip.* p. 342.—(*s*) Vovag. Pitton. de la Grèce, pl. 40, t. i. p. 77.—(*t*) D'Anville, *Anal. des Côtes de Grèce*, p. 9.—(*u*) Levanto, *Specchio del Mare*, p. 105.

bles of Riccioli and Pimentel (*x*), which are constructed from the observations of navigators, is  $39^{\circ} 37' N.$  The position of Corfu agrees with the seven hundred stadia which the ancients computed between Leucas and Corcyra (*y*): The latter city is not indeed the same with Corfu: the ruins of it are seen at a little distance to the south, in a peninsula now called Chersopoli; and from this peninsula to Leucas, the distance, in a right line, on my map, is six hundred and twelve Olympian stadia, which appears a suitable reduction:

From Corcyra the ancients again reckoned seven hundred stadia (*z*) to the Acro-ceraunian mountains; or perhaps only six hundred and sixty, which is the number in the manuscript of Agathemerus (*a*); though Tennuli has thought proper to correct it from the text of Pliny. He would have done better to have corrected Pliny (*b*) by Agathemerus. In my map the distance of five hundred and ninety stadia will be found, in a right line, between Corcyra and the point of the Acro-ceraunian or Ceraunian mountains, now called La Linguetta. This reduction is not too great. The position of that point is likewise ascertained by other means.

The latitude of this point is taken from a large chart of the Gulf of Oricum, now La Valona, geometrically taken, in 1690, by a Venetian engineer, named Alberghetti, in which the latitude seems to have been given from an astronomical observation made at La Valona, though it is not mentioned in the chart. Its longitude is deduced from its bearing with respect to the most northern point of Corfu:

(*x*) Ricciol. Geograph. et Hydrogr. Reform. lib. 9, cap. 4, p. 384: Venet. 1672, in fol. Pimentel, Arte de Navegar, p. 216: Lisboa, 1722, in fol.—(*y*) Polyb. ap. Strab. lib. 2, p. 105. Plin. lib. 2, cap. 108, t. i. p. 124. Agathem. lib. 1, cap. 4, p. 10, ap. Geogr. Min. Græc. t. ii.—(*z*) Polyb. ap. Strab. ibid.—(*a*) Agathem. ibid.—(*b*) Plin. ibid.

at least, Levanto says (*c*) that Corfu lies ten leagues to the south-south-east of the isle of Safeno, anciently Safo. The leagues of this pilot are always four Italian miles each, as has been remarked by M. D'Anville (*d*) ; and, taking the opposite direction, the ten leagues will precisely extend from Cape Phalacrum, the most northern point of Corfu, to the latitude which the Venetian chart assigns to the point of La Linguetta. I have therefore reason to believe that the Ceraunian mountains are rightly placed in my map. On the other hand, the position of the Cape La Linguetta, which is placed due south of Safeno in the Venetian chart, is shewn to be right by that of the small island Thoronos. The latter is directly to the south (*e*) of Safeno, and due west (*f*) of Phalacrum in Corcyra.

The chart of the Gulf of Oricum, which appeared to me very carefully laid down, has furnished me with the coasts of that gulf, those of the island Safo, and even a part of the course of the river Celydnus. I have also profited by a note engraved on that chart, which contains a concise but well drawn description of the country in the environs of La Valona, the ancient Aulon. It has likewise given me the distances descending to the south to Buthrotum, opposite Corcyra ; and has, besides, conducted me to Durazzo, or Epidamnus, in Illyricum. But it must surely excite our astonishment that so accurate a chart should have remained almost unknown to the time of M. D'Anville (*g*) ; the reason of which no doubt is, that the greater part of geographers, accustomed to copy from each other, have never thought of exa-

(*c*) Levanto, Specchio del Mare, p. 95, 104.—(*d*) D'Anville, Anal. des Côtes de la Grèce, p. 4.—(*e*) Portul. Grec, et Compilé. Levanto, ibid.—(*f*) Portul. Manuscrit. Coronelli, Descript. de la Morée, p. 63.—(*g*) D'Anville, Anal. des Côtes de la Grèce, p. 6.

mining Greece in detail, as has been done by M. D'Anville.

The Greek and compiled Portulans, Levanto (*b*), and Alberghetti, in a note, lay down Durazzo due north of the isle of Safeno. I have placed it in that direction; and for the distance I think we should prefer that given by Alberghetti; not that the others differ much from it, but because it is the greatest of all: yet has it still obliged me to take the least of two different latitudes which have been assigned to Durazzo, and which, as I have already said, is that of the table of Philip Lansberge (*i*), who states it at  $41^{\circ} 27'$ . The tables of Harris and Riccioli place Durazzo more to the north, and make the latitude  $41^{\circ} 58'$  (*k*); but this would require almost double the distance.

From all that I have said it appears to me that the western coast of Greece is ascertained with tolerable accuracy: it is therefore now only necessary to enquire whether my measures will be found exact, if we cross to the eastern side. I have already determined the breadth of Greece; first in Peloponnesus, by the distance of Argos from Olympia; and, afterwards, in the middle of Greece itself, by that of the Gulf of Ambracia from Thermopylæ. I shall now proceed to ascertain it in the most northern part, by the extent of the Egnatian way, which went from Apollonia and Epidamnus to Theffalonica or Therma, at the bottom of the Thermaic Gulf, and even beyond. This way indeed was made by the Romans, and did not exist till a long time after the æra of the travels of Anacharsis: yet the measure of its length to Theffalonica will enable us to determine the space

(*b*) Levanto, Specchio del Mare, p. 95.—(*i*) Philip. Lansberg. Tab. Mot. Cœl. Perp. p. 8: Middelb. 1663, in fol.—

(*k*) Harris's Diction. under the word Latitude: London, 1736, fol. Ricciol. Geogr. et Hydrogr. Reform. lib. 9, cap. 4, p. 397.

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which separates the two feas. This measure is given in Roman miles.

Polybius, according to Strabo (*l*), reckoned two hundred and sixty-seven miles on this road from Apollonia in Illyricum to Theffalonica. Strabo afterward remarks that the road was not longer from Dyrrachium or Epidamnus, than from Apollonia (*m*); it will therefore be indifferent whether we take the measure of it from one or the other of those cities. I shall take it from Epidamnus, because I have already determined the position of that place. The 267 Roman miles, at 756 toises each, at which they are estimated by M. D'Anville (*n*), make 201852 toises; and on my map the distance between Epidamnus and Therma, in a right line, is 167200. The reduction of the itinerary measure to the right line is about one sixth, which I imagine will appear a suitable proportion in a mountainous country, and where the road passes through several defiles. Alberghetti, besides, says that the distance from Durazzo to Salonichi is little more than two hundred Italian miles.

In the interior part of Epirus some particularities may be remarked that are not found in any maps before published. They are taken in part from a manuscript journey from Arta, anciently Ambracia, by Joannina, and Gomphi, to Larissa in Theffaly; and in part from the Greek geography of Meletius, a native of Joannina, a town situated on the lake Acherusia. It may perhaps excite surprize to see this lake within land, at a considerable distance from the sea, while all the maps place it at the mouth of the Acheron: yet Scylax and Strabo (*o*) make the Acheron not fall into this lake, but rise out of it:

(*l*) Polyb. ap. Strab. lib. 7, p. 323.—(*m*) Strab. ibid.—

(*n*) D'Anville, Trait. des Mes. Itin. p. 44.—(*o*) Scyl. p. 11, ap. Geogr. Min. Græc. t. i. Strab. lib. 7, p. 324.

and Pliny still more positively says (*p*) that the Acheron, after having flowed out of the lake Acherusia, makes a course of thirty-six miles to arrive at the sea. This is in fact the distance from Joannina to port Veliki, anciently Glycys, or the Sweet Port. The Acheron in this space loses itself for some time under ground, according to Meletius (*q*) ; and this it is, no doubt, which has caused it to be represented as one of the rivers of hell. The same is probably the case with the Cocytus, which rises out of the same lake.

I shall not enter into so minute a detail of the remainder of the general map, though all the parts of it have been laid down on the same scale as the particular ones. The general map is, as I may say, only the extract of a work of much greater labour ; it will therefore be sufficient to indicate the principal points.

The figure of the three peninsulas of Chalcidice and the Gulf of Pieria, to the isle of Thasos inclusively, is taken from a manuscript chart of the pilot Gauthier, found among the papers of M. Freret. This chart has been adjusted to that of the eastern coast of the Thermaic Gulf, taken geometrically by M. Le Roi, and of which I have already spoken. In this chart of Gauthier's the peninsula in which Mount Athos is situated, extends to a somewhat greater length than in another manuscript map of the Archipelago, which is to be found in the Geographical Collection for Foreign Affairs : but I have reason to believe the manuscript which I have followed accurate, because it agrees with the measures of this peninsula given by Pliny and Belon (*r*) ; and because, besides, the summit of Mount Athos has

(*p*) Plin. lib. 4, cap. 1, t. i. p. 189.—(*q*) Μελετ. Τεωχρ. lib. 1, sect. 18, cap. 3, No. 10: Venet. 1728, in fol.—(*r*) Plin. lib. 4, cap. 10, t. i. p. 202. Belon, Observ. liv. 1, chap. 35.

precisely the same bearing from the ruins of Alexandria Troas, more anciently Sigeum, which it was observed to have by Mr. Chandler (s).

The isle of Lemnos is laid down according to its distances from Mount Athos and the Hellespont, and the bearings indicated by the shadow of Mount Athos, as it projects itself on that island. Myrina, the principal city of Lemnos, could not be at the north-west point, as it is found in some maps. The shadow of Mount Athos, according to the testimony of almost all antiquity, did not reach a brazen cow which stood in the forum till the summer solstice (t); and Belon has remarked (u) that the shadow already projected on the north-west angle of Lemnos, on the 2d of June. The coast of Thrace, from Thafos to the mouth of the Hebrus, is laid down from the indications of the Portulans, compared with the Roman itineraries.

The latitude of the Dardanelles, anciently the Hellespont, has been observed by M. de Chazelles (x); but for their position I have entirely followed a large manuscript chart taken within these few years by M. Tondu, an astronomer, who has ascertained their longitude and latitude. This chart has furnished me with the coasts of the Gulf of Melas, the Thracian Chersonesus, and the opposite Asiatic shore, to Tenedos. To this is added another chart, also in manuscript, taken by M. Truguet, captain of a frigate, under the orders of the count de Choiseul-Gouffier. From this I have obtained the remainder of the coast of the Troas, the Gulf of Adramyttium to the entrance of that of Cyme, and the whole island of Lesbos.

(s) Chand. Trav. in Asia Min. chap. 8, p. 23.—(t) Sophocl. ap. Erymol. Magn. in Αθως. Apollon. Rhod. Argon. lib. 1, v. 604. Plin. lib. 4, cap. 12, t. i. p. 214. Plut. de Fac. in Orb. Lun. t. ii. p. 935. Solin. cap. ii. p. 31.—(u) Belon. Observ. liv. 1, chap. 25.—(x) Mem. de l'Acad. des Sciences, ann. 1761, p. 168.

The Propontis, now the sea of Marmara, is adjusted, on the one hand, to the position of Byzantium, or Constantinople, the longitude and latitude of which are taken, as I have already said, from the *Connoissance des Temps* for the year 1788 (*y*) ; and, on the other, to that of the Dardanelles. The figure of it is taken from a large manuscript map, designed in 1731 by M. Bohn, an engineer, in the service of prince Ragozzi. This map is the same that M. D'Anville made use of (*z*). I have copied it exactly, except that I have thought that I ought to place Cyzicus more to the east, from the distances given by ancient authors, and even by modern travellers. The bottom of the Gulf of Astacus, and the lake near to Ancora, are taken from a manuscript chart by M. Peissonel ; and the Bosphorus of Thrace, now the canal of Constantinople, is laid down from a particular plan which I have given of it.

To the position of Smyrna, the longitude and latitude of which have been observed by Father Feuillée (*a*), I have adjusted a large manuscript chart of a part of the Archipelago, which I had designed in 1785. This chart contains all the islands to the south of the parallel of Smyrna, and to the north of that of Rhodes, as well as the corresponding coasts of Europe and Asia. The islands are placed in it according to the observations of Tournefort, and other travellers ; and their figures are taken from different plans, some of which are manuscript. A great number of these plans are found in Tournefort ; the count de Choiseul-Gouffier has given several (*b*) ; and I have also derived advantage from those contained in the collections of Dapper, Boschini,

(*y*) *Connoissance des Temps* pour 1788, p. 245.—

(*z*) D'Anville, *Anal. des Côtes de la Grèce*, p. 33.—(*a*) Mem. de l'Acad. des Sciences, ann. 1702, p. 8.—(*b*) *Voyag. Pittor. de la Grèce*.

and even Bordoné. The plans of the islands of Thera and Astypalæa are manuscript; they were taken in 1738 by M. Le Roi, and the latitude of the islands has been observed.

On the coast of Asia the Hermæan Gulf, now the Gulf of Smyrna, has been laid down from a manuscript chart, taken by the same M. Le Roi; and the bottom of that of Cyme is ascertained by the position of Phocæa. This city was a little less than two hundred stadia distant from Smyrna, according to Strabo (*c*). The latter was not built till some time after the date of the travels of Anacharsis: it was twenty stadia from the ancient city (*d*), and is that which is at present so flourishing. The rest of the coast to Lycia is taken from the charts of the count de Choiseul-Gouffier, which have been likewise compared with the distances given by ancient authors.

Throughout almost the whole of Asia Minor, the rivers bring down an immense quantity of slime and mud, and form accumulations of earth at their mouths. The Scamander in Troas, the Caicus near Pergamus, the Hermus near Smyrna, and the Cayster, which flows by Ephesus, have enlarged the country they traverse: but no where is there a more remarkable instance of this than in the environs of Miletus. The Mæander has heaped up so much sand, that a deep bay, situated between the city and the river, is now only a lake; and the islands Lade and Asterius, at the entrance of that bay, are become eminences in the plain.

Near Miletus is the promontory of Trogilium, from which Strabo reckons sixteen hundred stadia to Sunium in Attica (*e*).

Rhodes is placed in the latitude observed by M. de Chazelles (*f*), which is  $36^{\circ} 28' 30''$  N.; and

(*c*) Strab. lib. 14, p. 663.—(*d*) Id. ibid. p. 646.—(*e*) Strab. lib. 14, p. 636.—(*f*) Mem. de l'Acad. des Sciences, ann. 1761, p. 167.

the figure which I have given to the island is taken from an ancient map corrected by the measures of Strabo, and other authors. The latitude of the little island of Casos is taken from the chart of the Archipelago designed for the *Dépôt de la Marine*, in 1738; in which this island is laid down according to observation. The island of Crete is copied from the general map of the island of Candia, given by Boschini (g), for want of a better. This map has been adjusted to the observations of longitude and latitude made by Father Feuillée at Candia and Canea (h), as well as to the distances given by ancient and modern authors. I have however been obliged to lay down the whole eastern part of the island more to the north. The promontory of Samonium, according to Pliny (i), was distant only sixty Roman miles, or four hundred and eighty Olympian stadia, from the island Carpathos; and the promontory Cadiscus seventy-three miles, or six hundred stadia, from Ma-lea in Peloponnesus.

Nothing now remains but to mention some particulars which have not yet been noticed in the course of these observations, and which yet are essential to be known.

These maps are designed for the period when Greece was free. I have made it a rule not to insert in them places the foundation or existence of which was posterior to the battle of Chæronea. Some however will be found which are only mentioned in more modern authors; but they existed long before, at least the time when they were founded is unknown. I have inserted under their ancient names cities which did not become celebrated until some time after, when they received new names. Such are Olbia

(g) Boschini, *Il. Regno Tutto di Candia*: Venet. 1651, in fol.—(h) *Mem. de l'Acad. des Sciences*, ann. 1702, p. 10, 11.

—(i) *Plin. lib. 4, cap. 12, t. i. p. 210*

and Ancora in Bithynia, which were afterwards called Nicomedia and Nicæa ; Sigeum in Troas, which was soon afterwards named Alexandria-Troas ; Idrias in Caria which was named Stratonicea ; and Therma, and Potidæa, in Macedonia, which took the names of Theffalonica and Caffandria, &c. &c.

Other cities changed their situation without changing their names. Among these the principal are Salamis, in the island of the same name, on the coast of Attica ; Sicyon, Orchomenus, and Hermione, in Peloponnesus ; Pharsalos, in Theffaly ; and Smyrna and Ephesus, in Ionia. All these cities are placed in their ancient site in my maps. Cyzicus in the Propontis, and Clazomenæ in Ionia, are only islands, because they were not joined to the continent till some time after. Lastly, Olynthus in Macedonia, and some other cities, are marked as destroyed ; because, since they had made a conspicuous figure in the history of Greece, it was proper to point out their position.

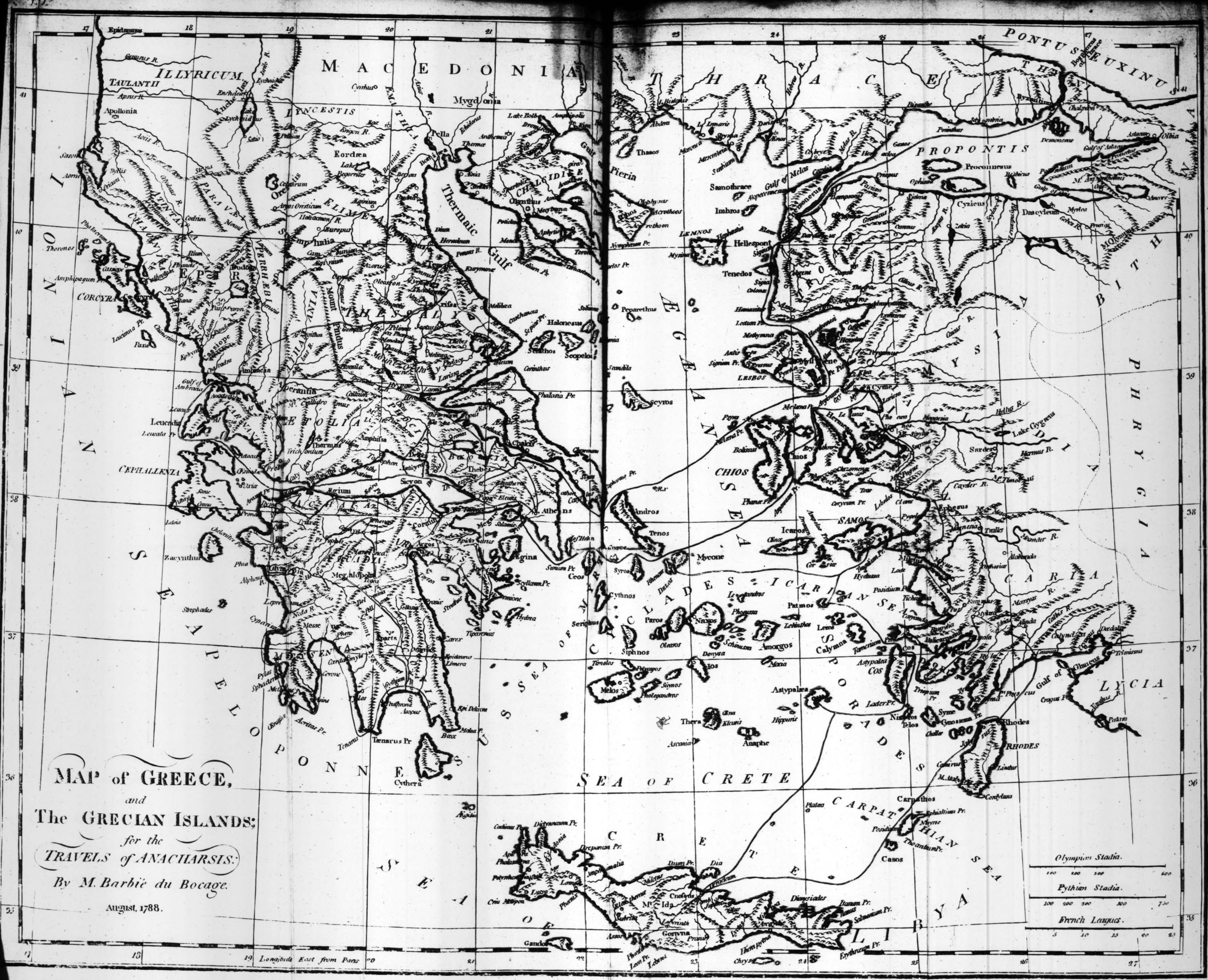
The divisions of countries are traced on the general map for the æra of the battle of Chæronea, which was fought on the third of August of the year 338 before Christ. The whole continent of Asia then appertained to the king of Persia. Philip the father of Alexander possessed Macedon, and the coasts of Thrace, except the Cheronesus, and the cities of Perinthus and Byzantium. The islands of Thafos and Halonesus were also dependant on him, and almost all Illyricum was subjected to him. Epirus was divided among several nations, the greater part of which were free. One among others, that of the Molossi, was governed by a king who was considerably powerful ; and the ally, but not the tributary, of Philip. All the remainder was inhabited by free Greeks. Several islands, however, acknowledged the sovereignty of certain republics ; as the isles of Samos, Lemnos, Scyros, Imbros, and

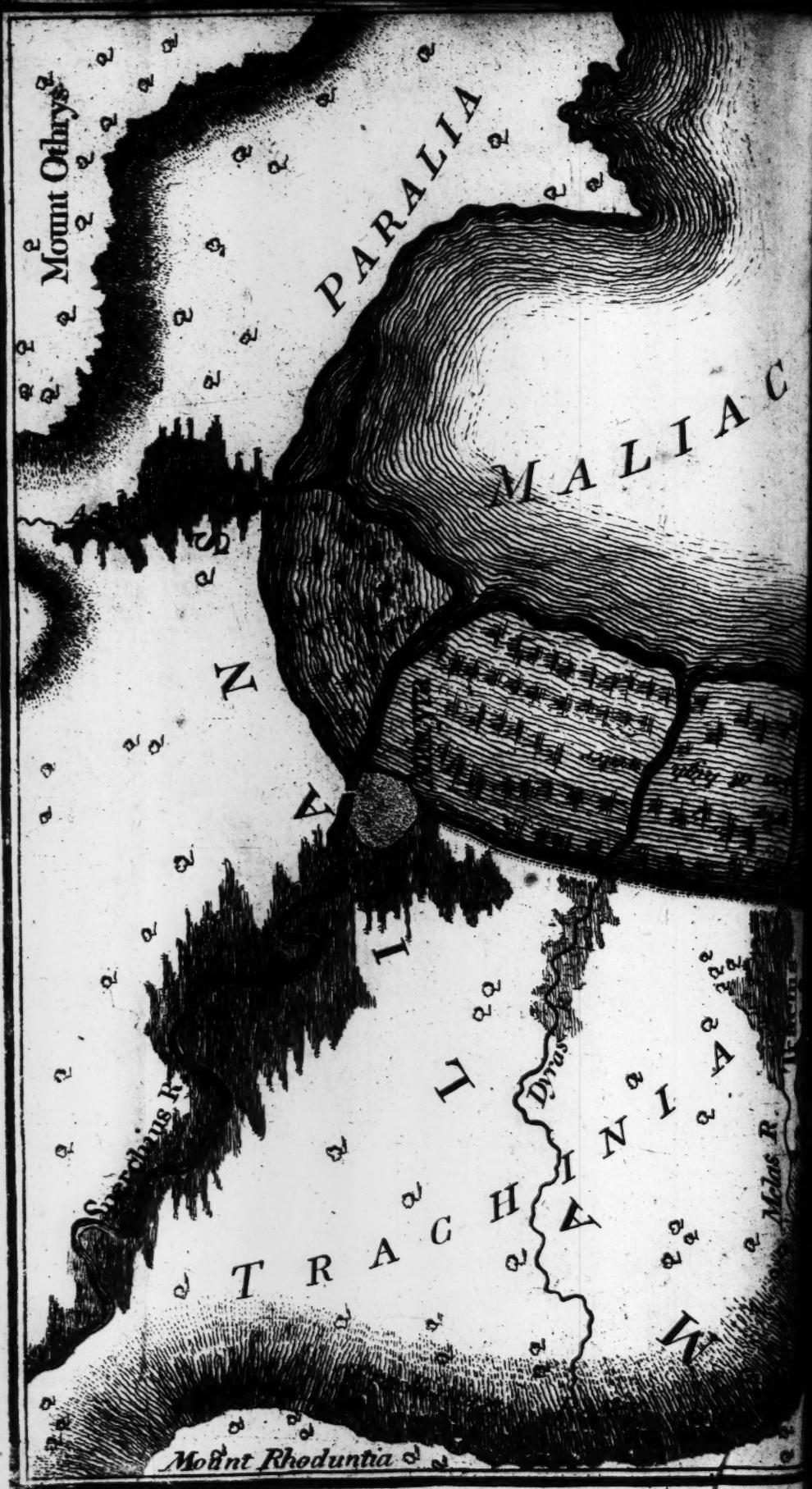
even the Thracian Chersonesus, which was in some measure dependant on the republic of Athens. As to that part of Asia which is included in my map, it was divided into three satrapies, which contained a number of petty tyrants established by the king of Persia in the Greek cities.

My particular maps, on the contrary, have very different dates. Each is designed for the very year in which Anacharsis is supposed to have travelled through the province it represents. Hence is it that, in the map of Phocis, all the cities which were destroyed after the Social War are inserted as still in existence; and, in that of Arcadia, all the cities the inhabitants of which went to people Megalopolis are marked as destroyed.



THE END.





cont. *see next page* *for Malia, Paralia, Trae, Rhoduntia, Serobius R., Dras, Metas R., Mount Othrys, Mount Rhoduntia, and the coast line from Malia to Trae.*

G U L F

177 Yards

in the place where the road is not broader than is  
the passage of a carriage (about 8 feet) is  
not sufficient for

the Spaniard  
Amphidrome

THEMOPYLAE @ Roman Pass or about 33 Yards  
wide

is not wider than is sufficient for  
a carriage or about 8 feet.



## PLAN of the PASS of THERMO-PYLAE,

Adapted to the time of the Invasion of

Greece by Xerxes,

For the Travels of Anacharsis:

BY M. BARBIER DU BOISAGE.

November 1784.

Orygian Stadia and estimated at 94 Toises, S.P. (202 1/2 Eng.)

Inferior Stadia each about 96 Toises (102 1/2 Eng.)

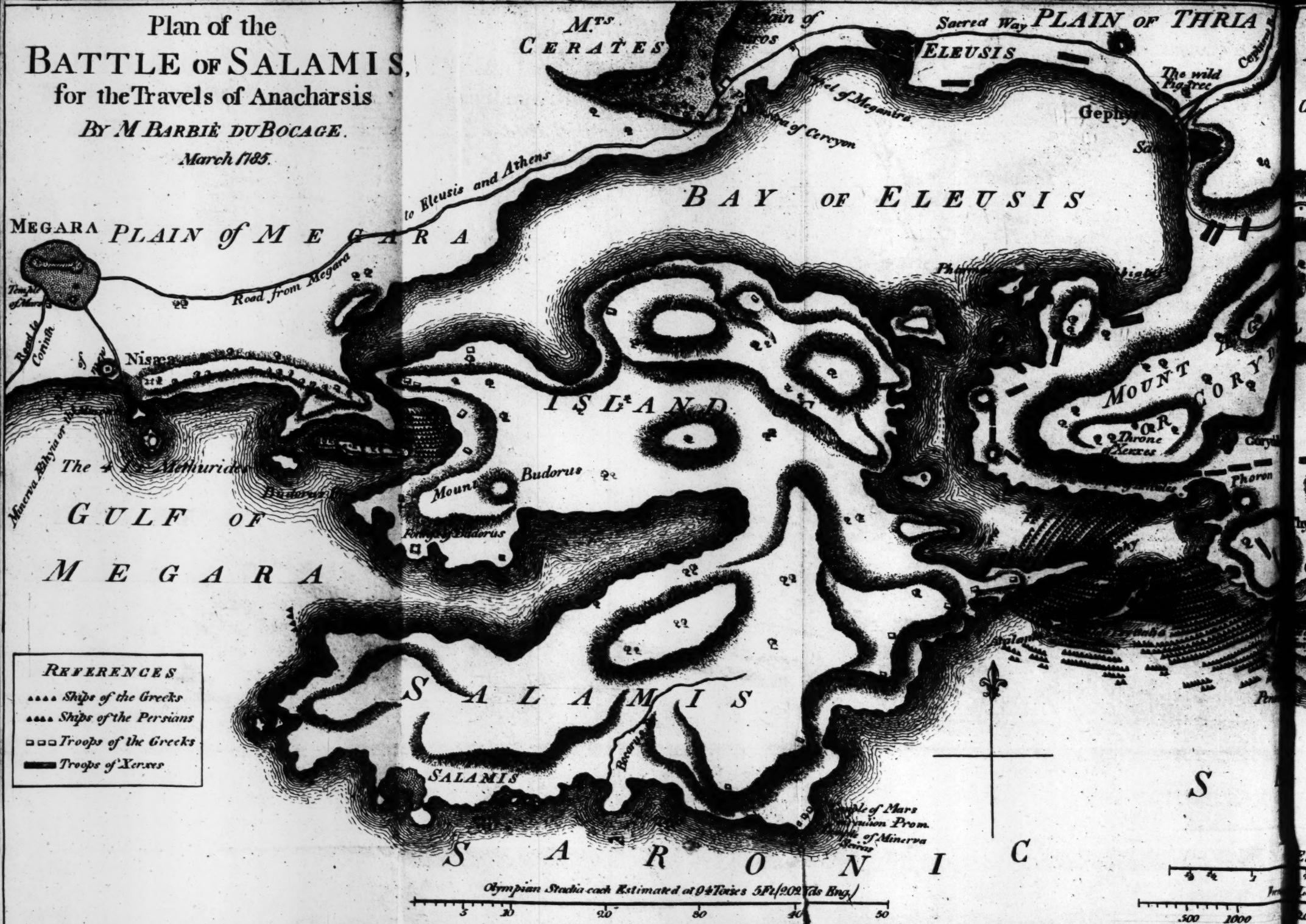
French Toises.

English Miles.

Plan of the  
BATTLE OF SALAMIS,  
for the Travels of Anacharsis

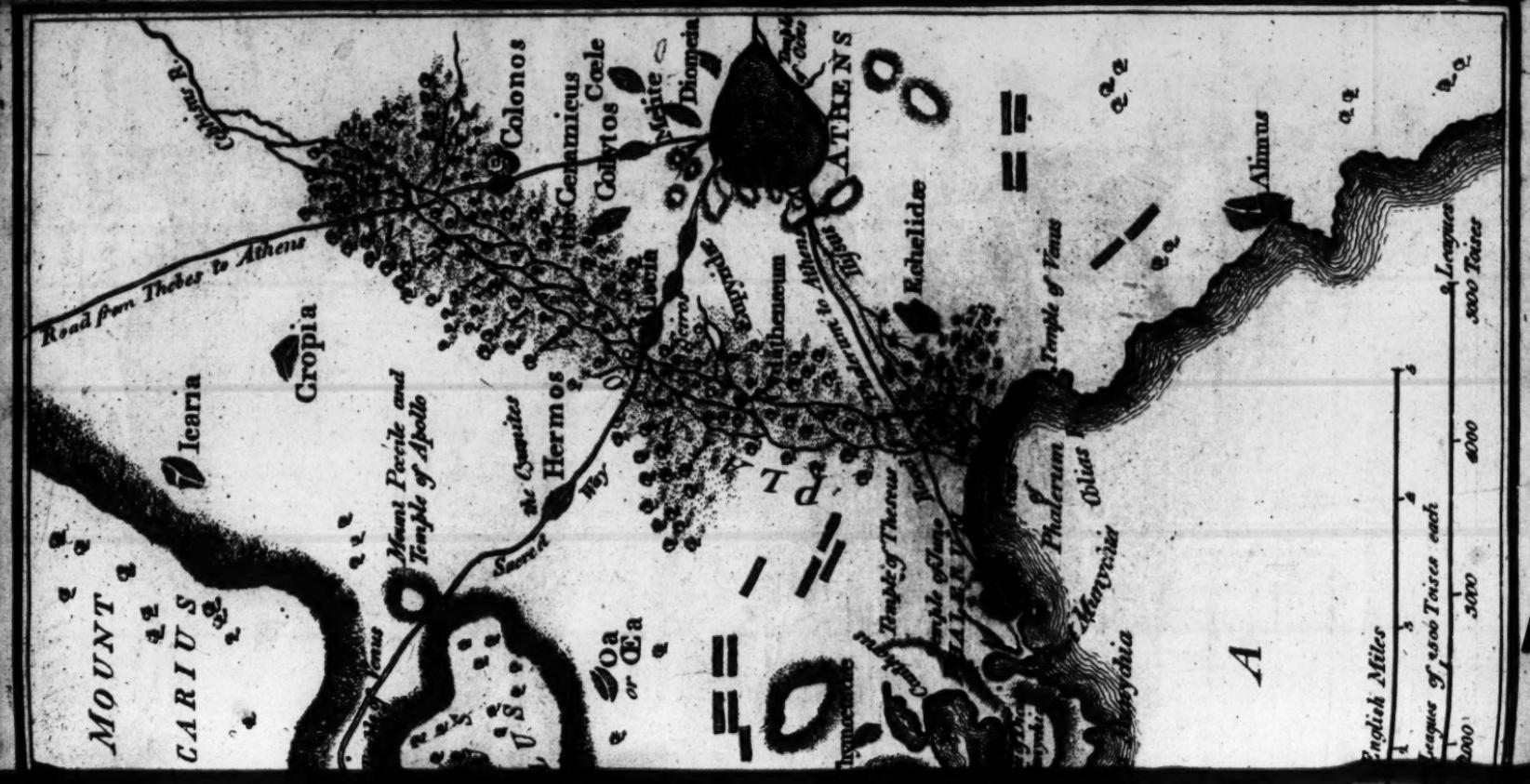
By M BARBIÈ DU BOCA GE.

March 1785.



REFERENCES

- Ships of the Greeks
- Ships of the Persians
- Troops of the Greeks
- Troops of Xerxes



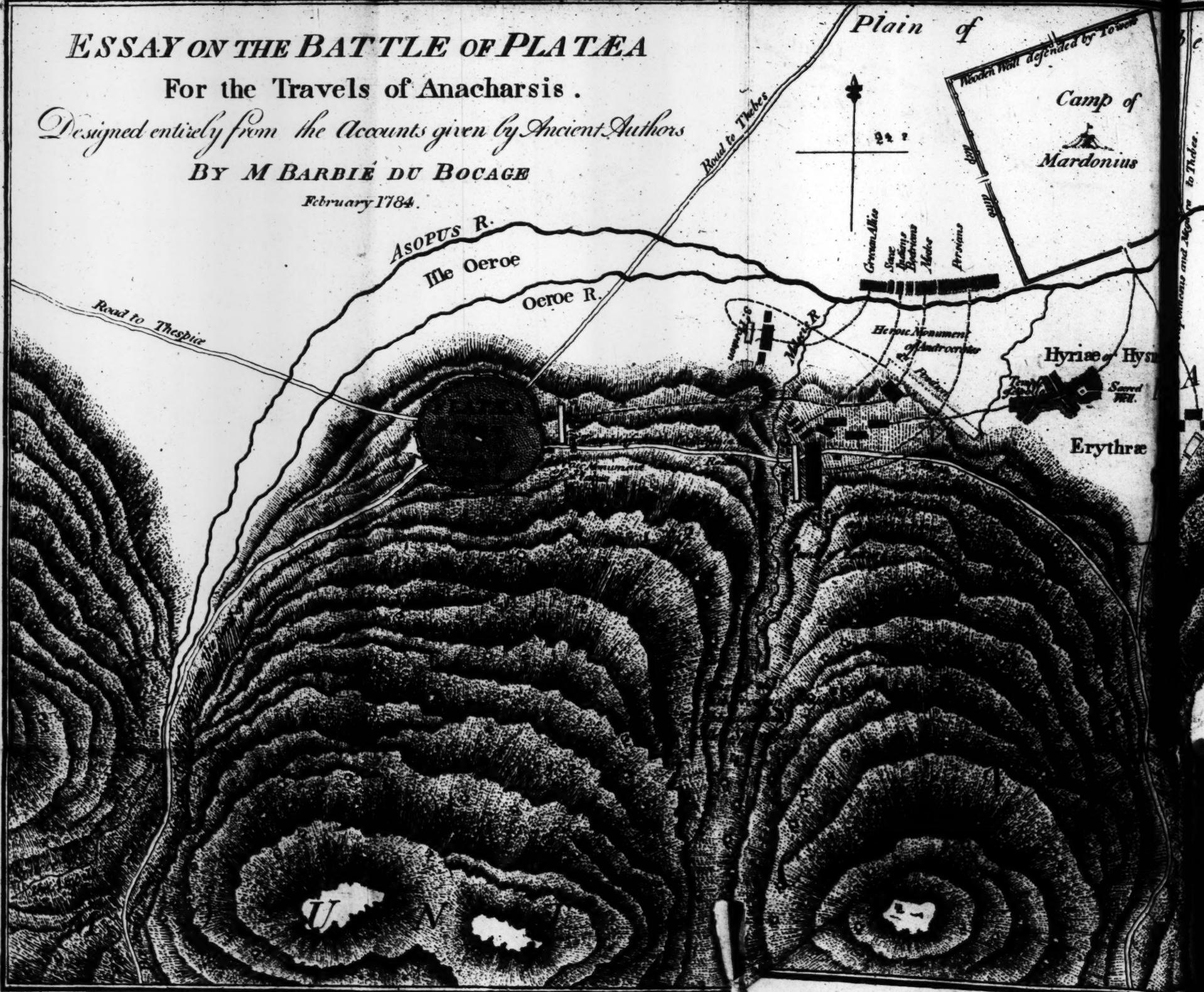
# ESSAY ON THE BATTLE OF PLATÆA

For the Travels of Anacharsis.

Designed entirely from the Accounts given by Ancient Authors

BY M BARBIÉ DU BOCAVE

February 1784.



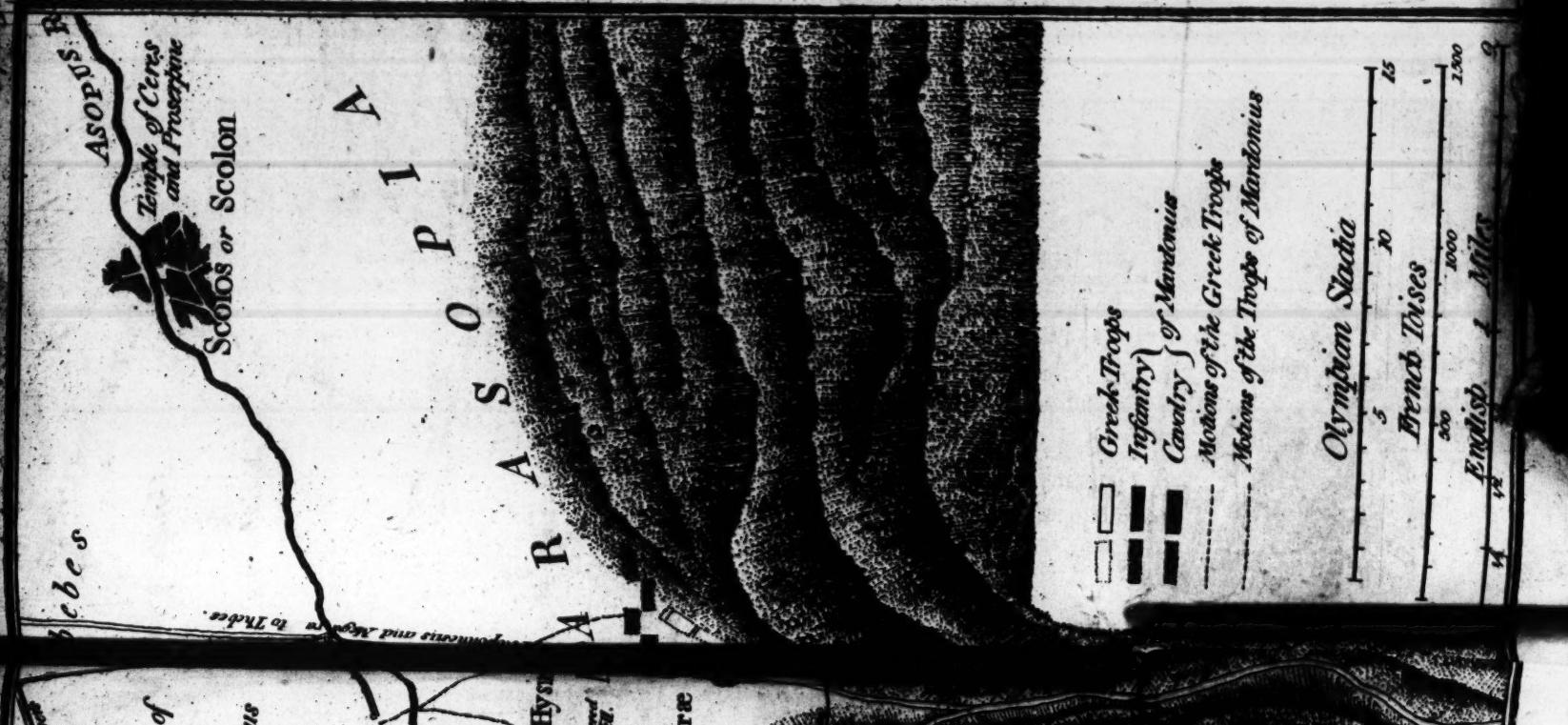


CHART of the PALUS MÆOTIS AND PO<sup>Y</sup>  
 for the Travels of Anacharsis  
 Designed principally after M D'ANVILLE  
 BY M BARBIÉ DU BOCA<sup>E</sup> MDCCCLXXI



## ON THE SEASIDE OF EUXINUS,



## *French Leagues*

50                  73                  100

1.69

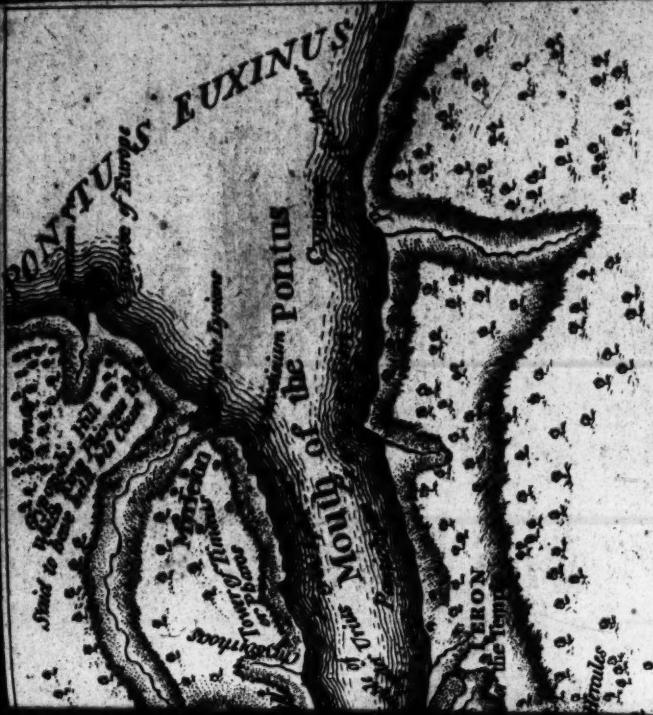
# *The BOSPHORUS of THRACE*

## for the Travels of Anacharsis

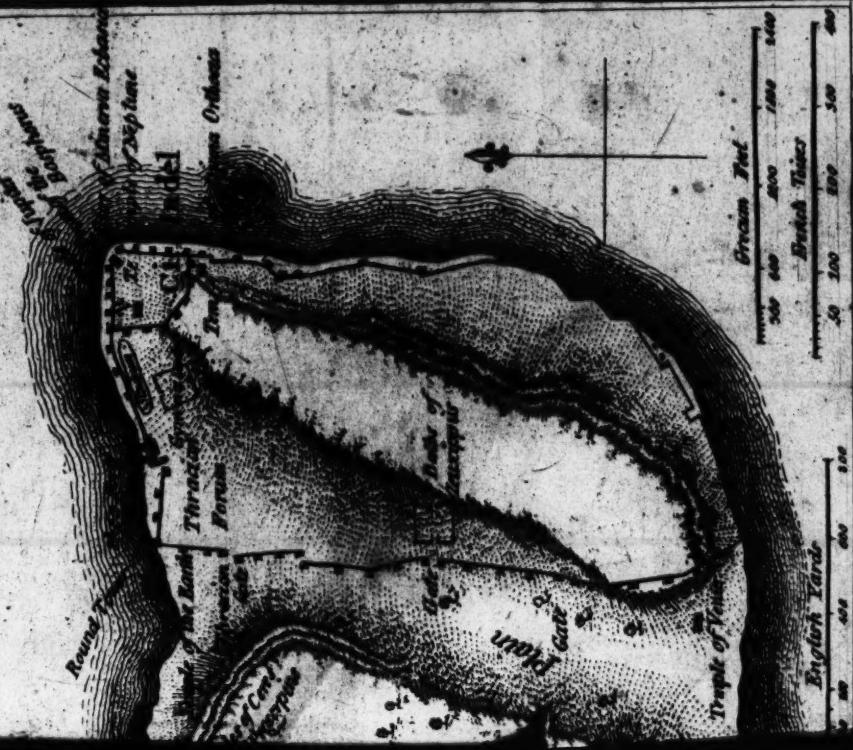
*By M. BARBIÉ DU BOCAGE,*

July 1784.





## PLAN of BYZANTIUM



N. 7

THE  
HELLESPONT,

for the Travels of Anacharsis.

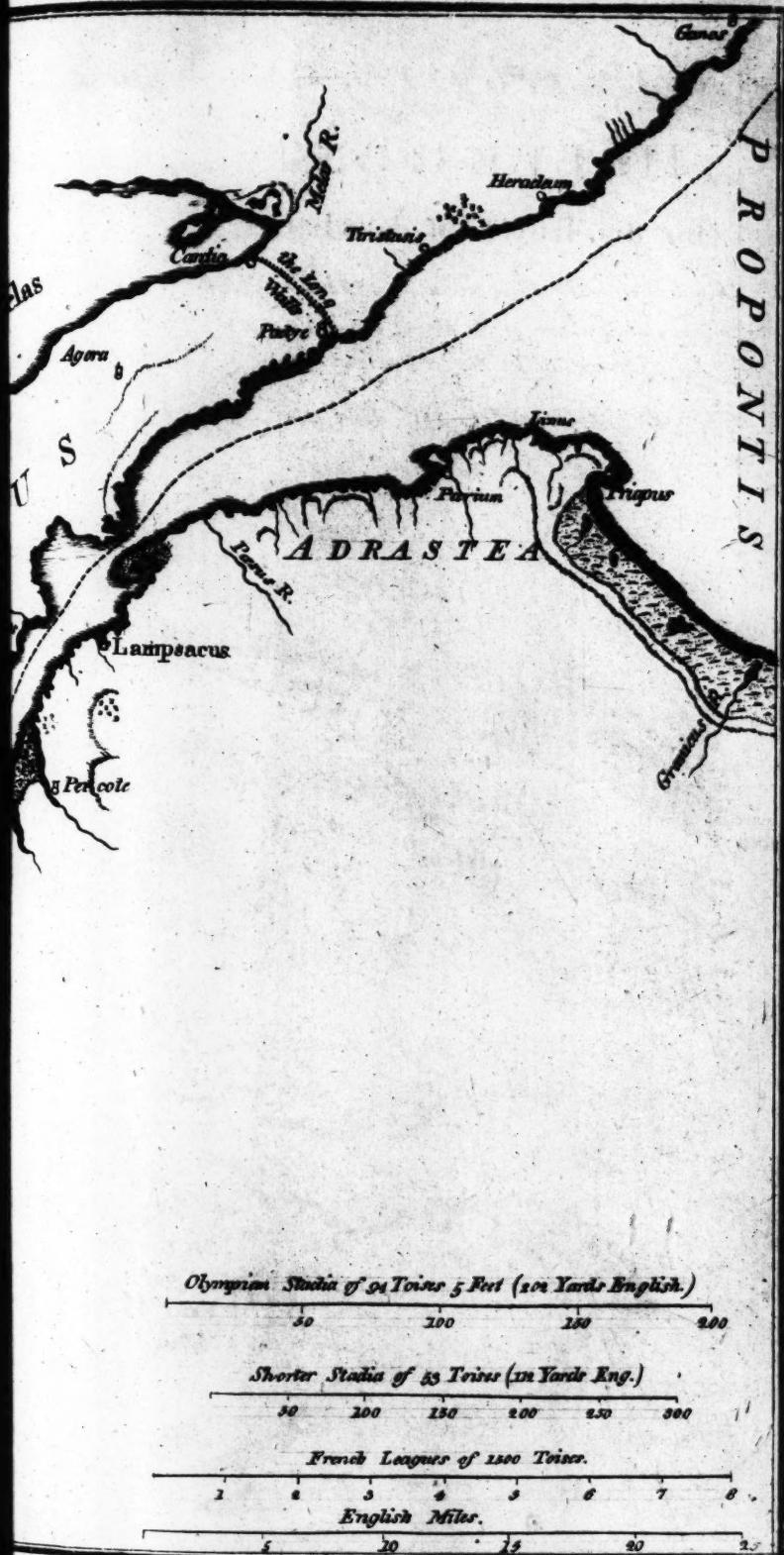
*Designed from the Plan given by MD'ANVILLE,  
in the Memoirs of the Royal Academy of  
Sciences, and other Materials.*

BY M. BARBIÉ DU BOCAZ.

May 1782.

ÆGEAN SEA

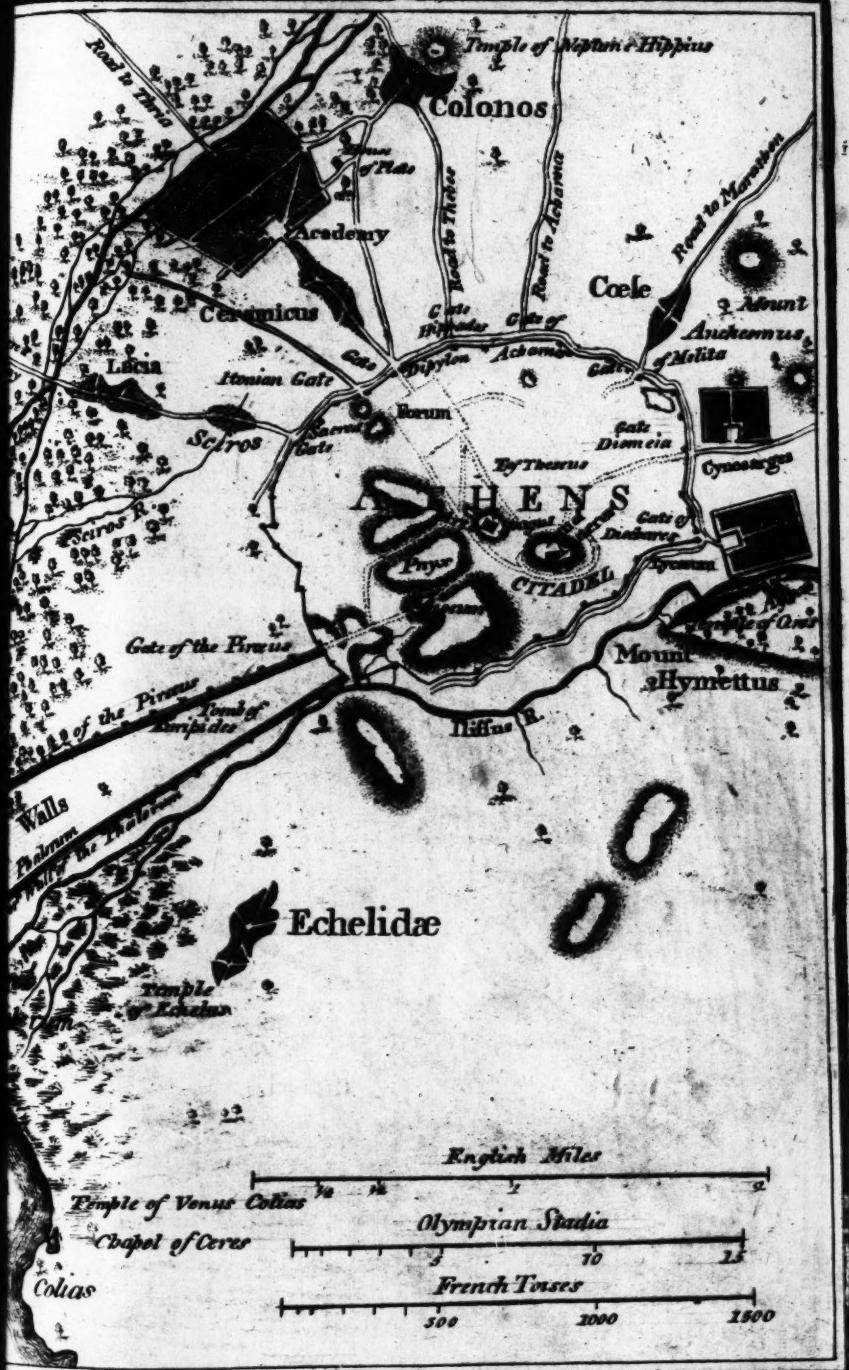




N<sup>o</sup>. 8.

Plan of the  
**ENVIRONS**  
of  
**ATHENS,**  
For the Travels of Anacharsis,  
By M. Barbié du Bocage.  
September 1785.





N<sup>o</sup>. 9.

ATTICA, MEGARIS  
AND PART OF THE ISLAND OF EUBŒA.  
*For the Travels of Anacharsis.*  
By M. Barbié du Bocage.

May 1785.



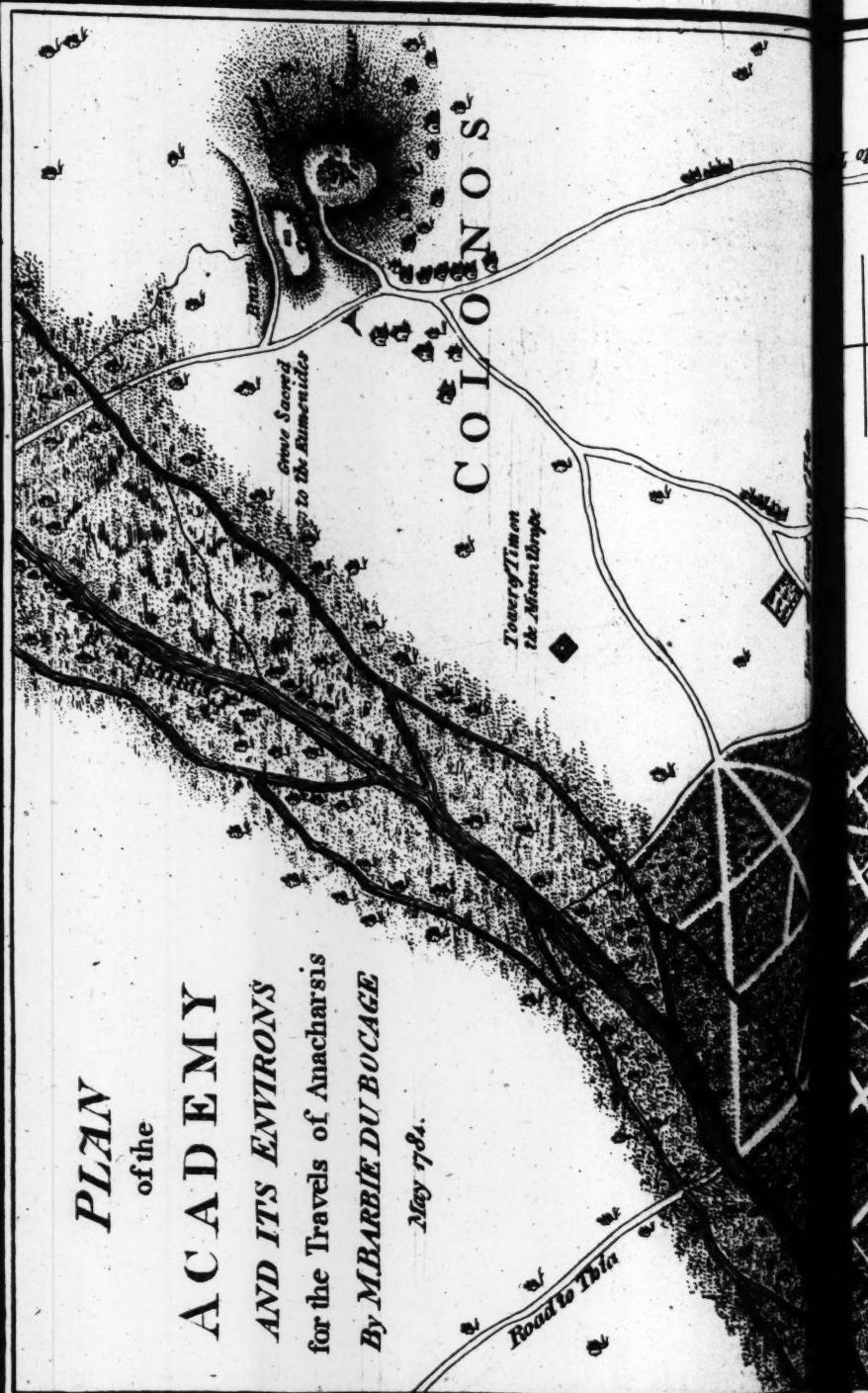


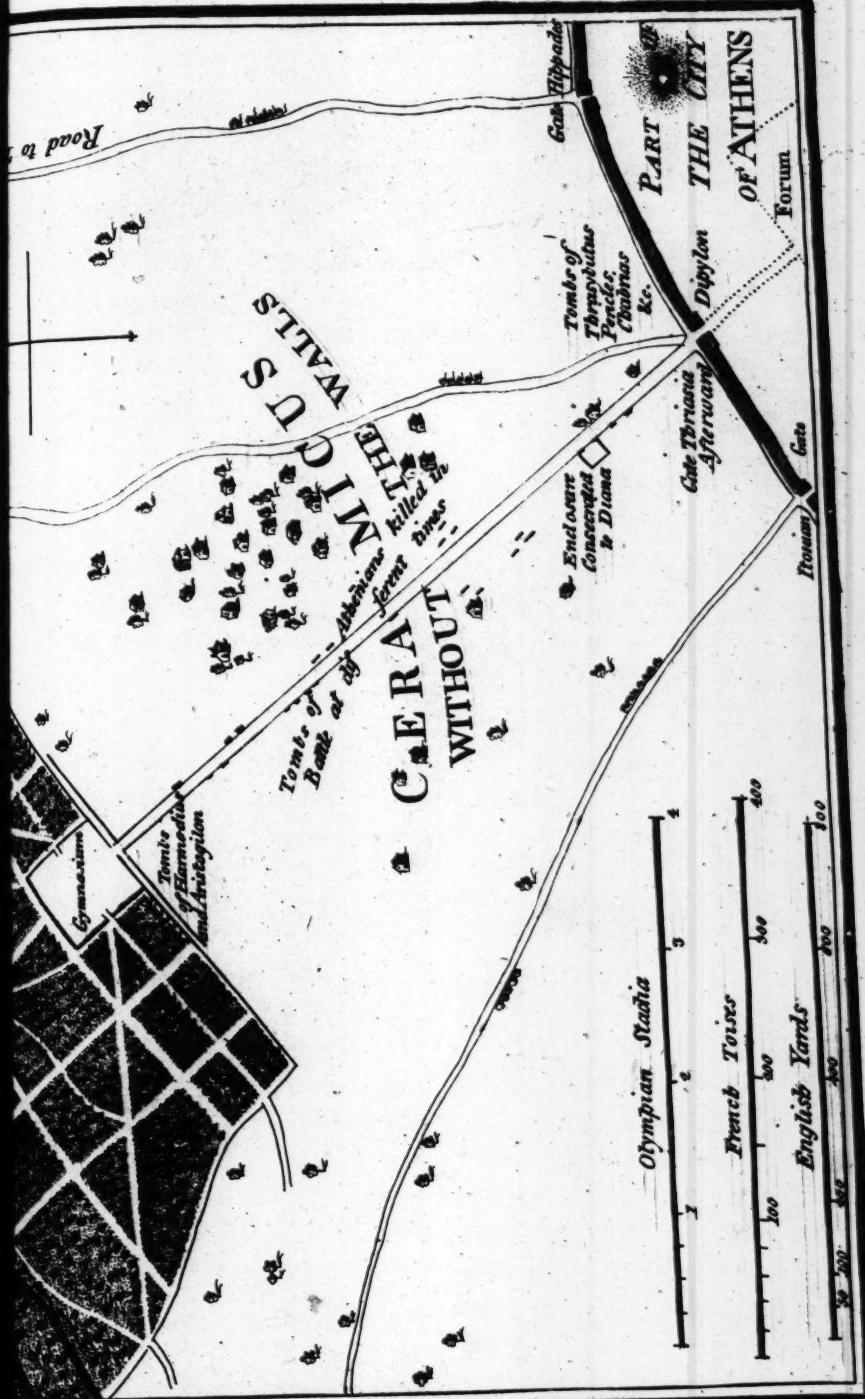
Vol. I. p. 254

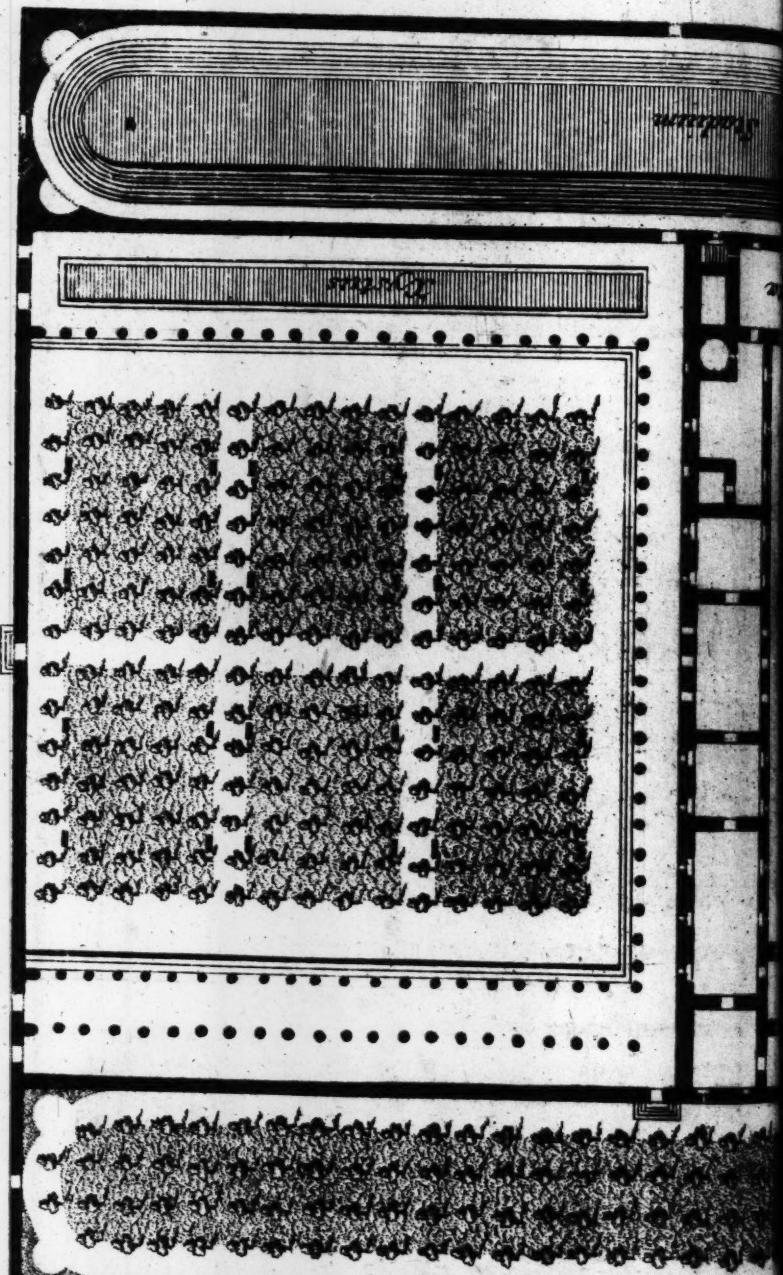
1/10

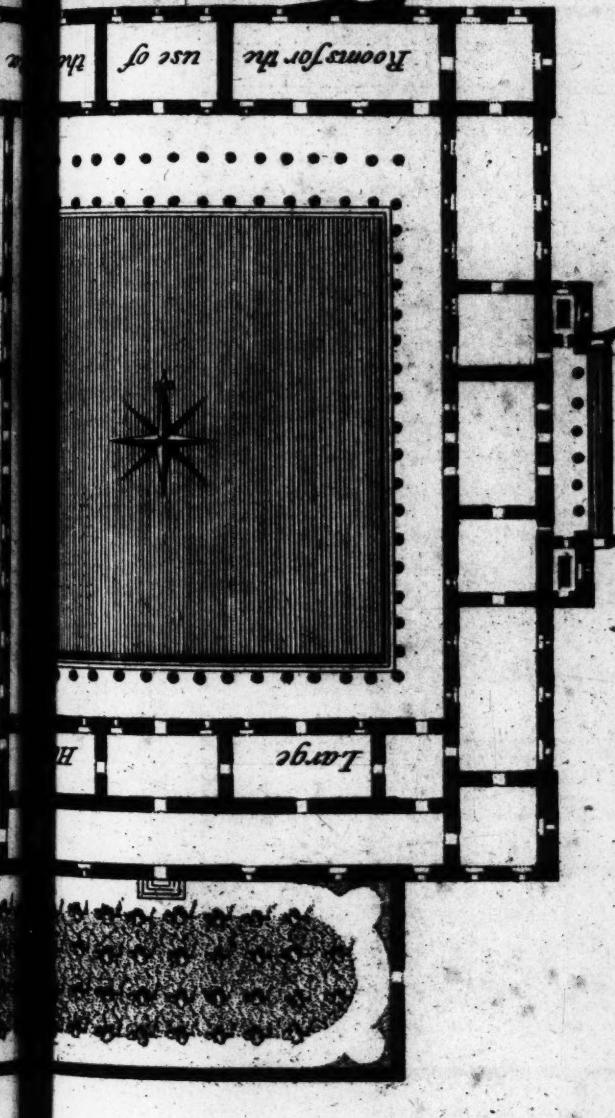
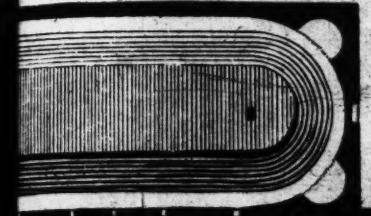
PLAN  
of the  
ACADEMY  
AND ITS ENVIRONS  
for the Travels of Anacharsis  
By M. BARBIER DU BOUGAGE

MAY 1784.

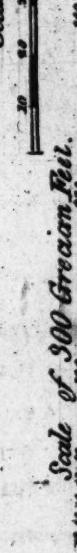








Scale of 100 English Yards.



Scale of 46 French Toises.



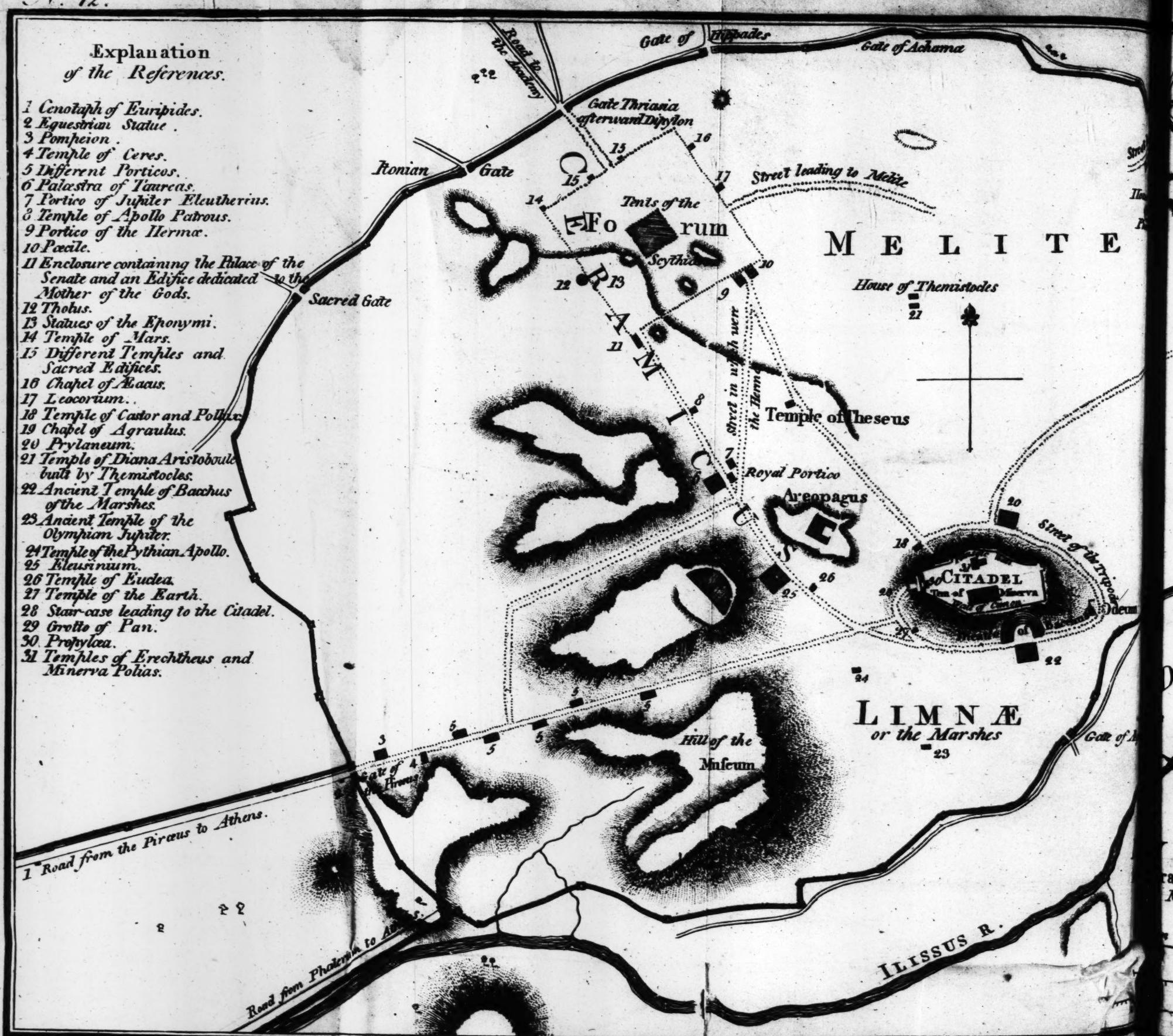
PLAN OF A GREEKIAN PALESTRA

AFTER VITRUVIUS.

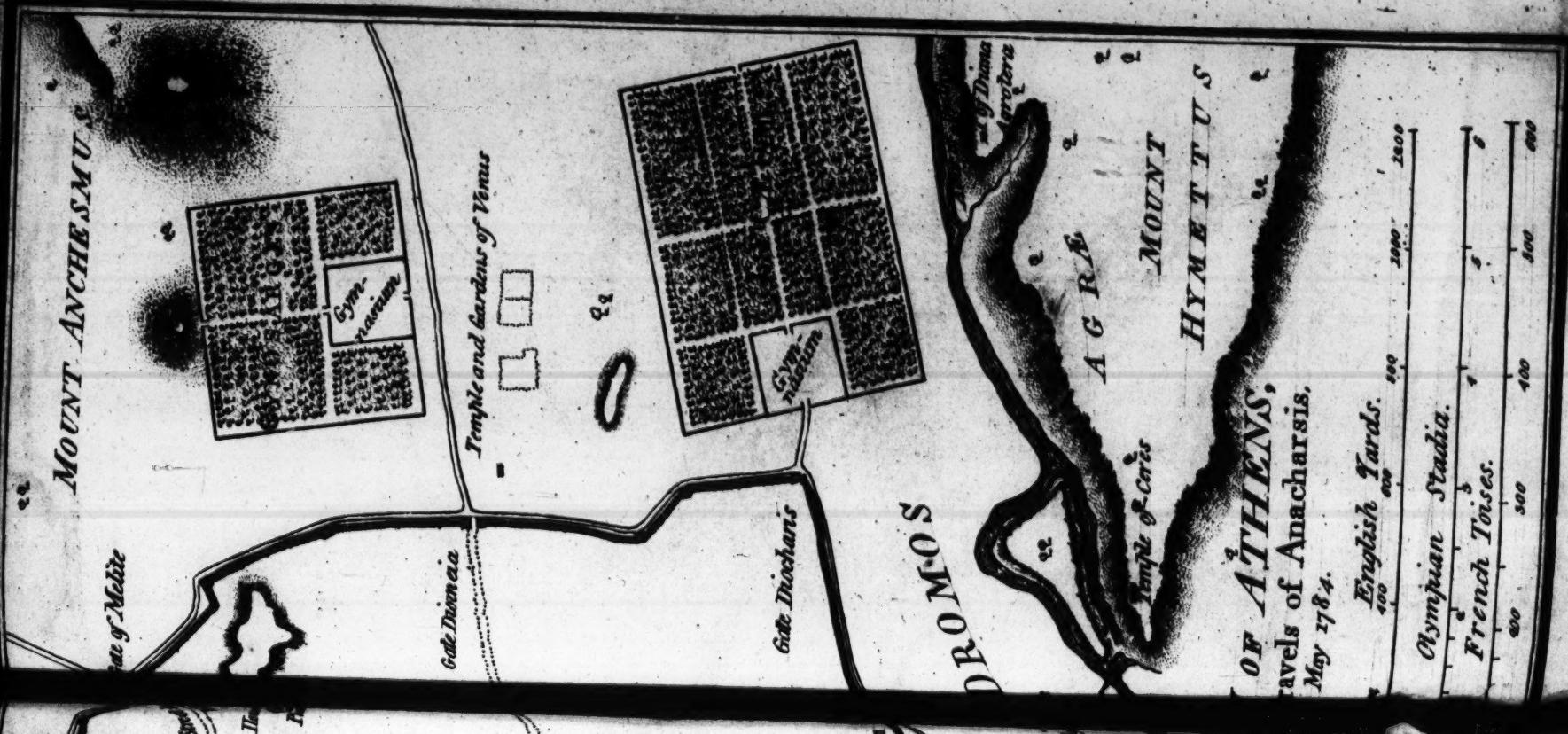
N<sup>o</sup> 12.

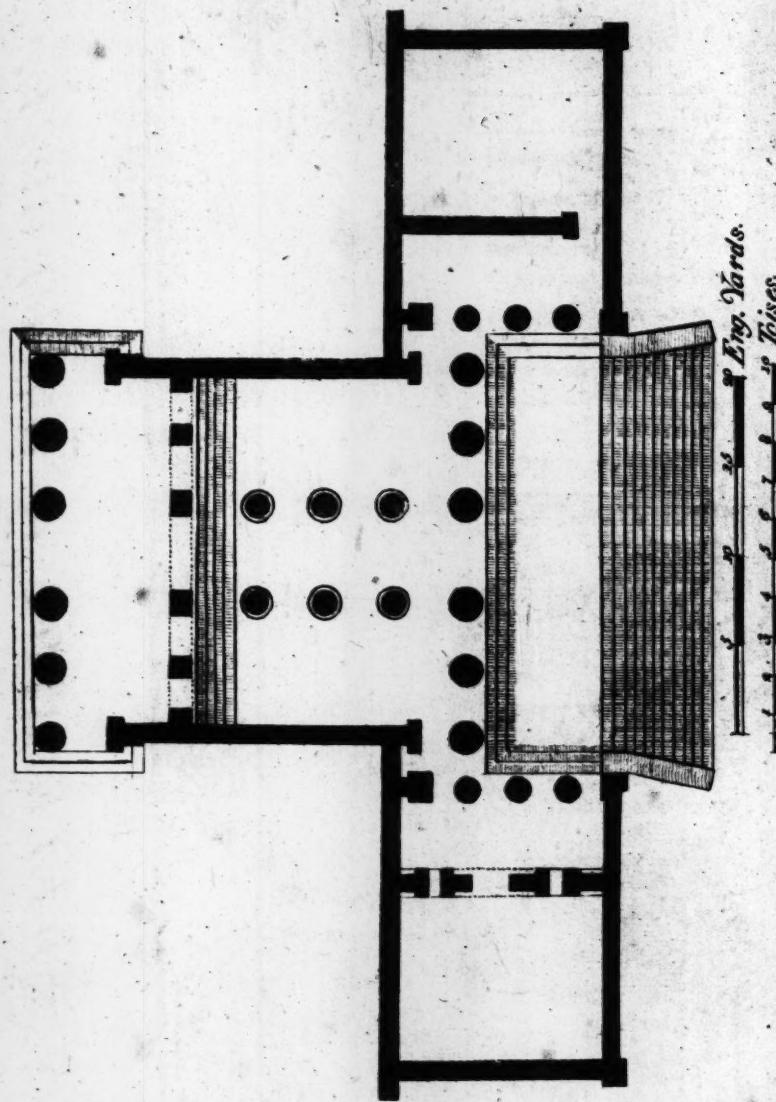
Explanation  
of the References.

- 1 Cenotaph of Euripides.
- 2 Equestrian Statue.
- 3 Pompeion.
- 4 Temple of Ceres.
- 5 Different Porticos.
- 6 Palaestra of Theseus.
- 7 Portico of Jupiter Eleutherius.
- 8 Temple of Apollo Patroos.
- 9 Portico of the Hermae.
- 10 Peccile.
- 11 Enclosure containing the Palace of the Senate and an Edifice dedicated to the Mother of the Gods.
- 12 Thobus.
- 13 Statues of the Eponymi.
- 14 Temple of Mars.
- 15 Different Temples and Sacred Edifices.
- 16 Chapel of Bacchus.
- 17 Leocorum.
- 18 Temple of Castor and Pollux.
- 19 Chapel of Agraulus.
- 20 Prylaneum.
- 21 Temple of Diana Aristoboule built by Themistocles.
- 22 Ancient Temple of Bacchus of the Marshes.
- 23 Ancient Temple of the Olympian Jupiter.
- 24 Temple of the Pythian Apollo.
- 25 Eleusinum.
- 26 Temple of Euclea.
- 27 Temple of the Earth.
- 28 Stair-case leading to the Citadel.
- 29 Grotto of Pan.
- 30 Propylaea.
- 31 Temples of Erechtheus and Minerva Polias.



Mount ANCHER SMITH

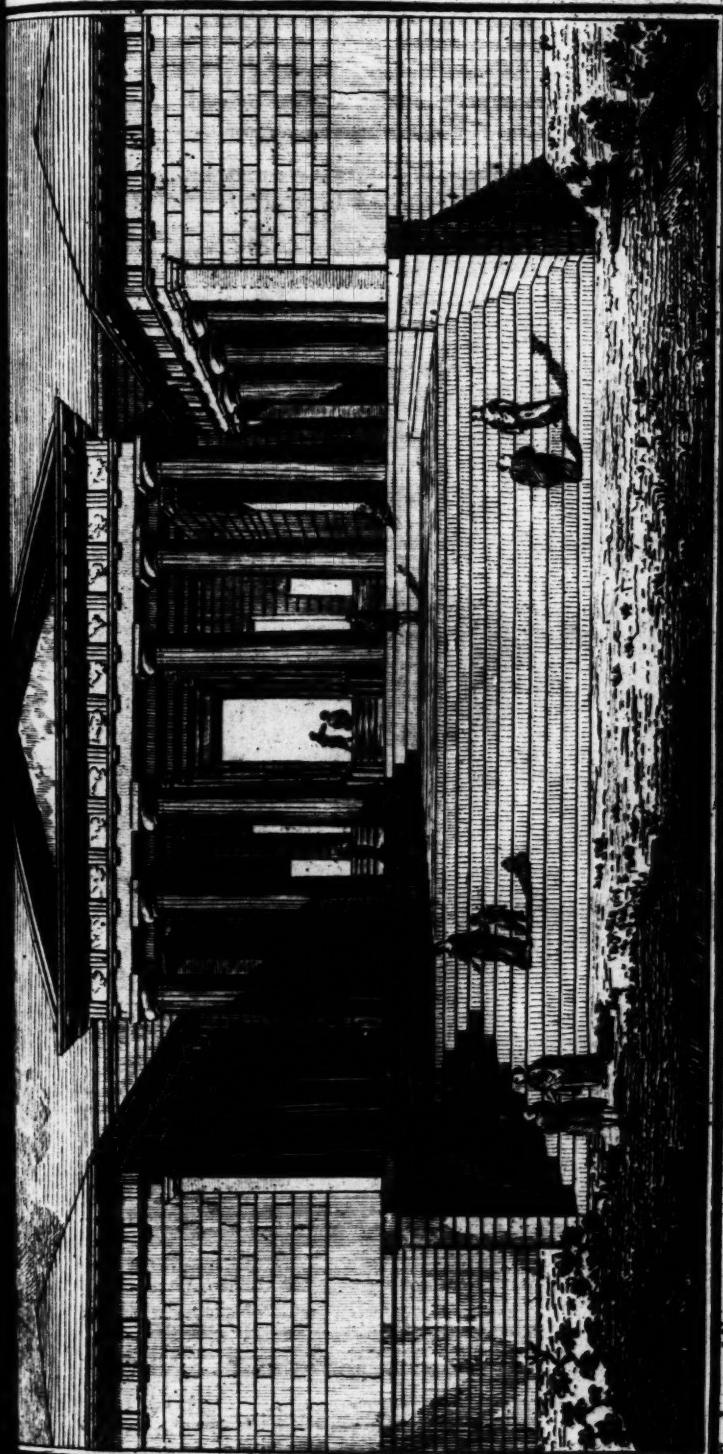




Eng. Yards.  
Tires.

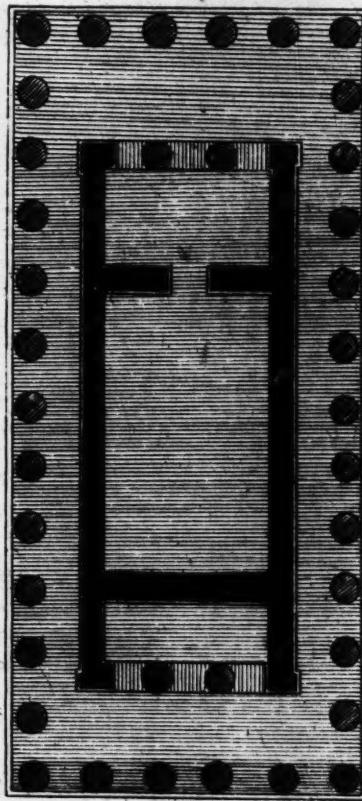
*PLAN AND ELEVATION OF THE PROPYLEA.*

*Engraved at*



N<sup>o</sup> 14

*Plan of the Temple of Theseus.*



6 12 18 30 36 42 48 54 feet.

N<sup>o</sup> 2.

*Elevation of the Front of the Pantheon.*

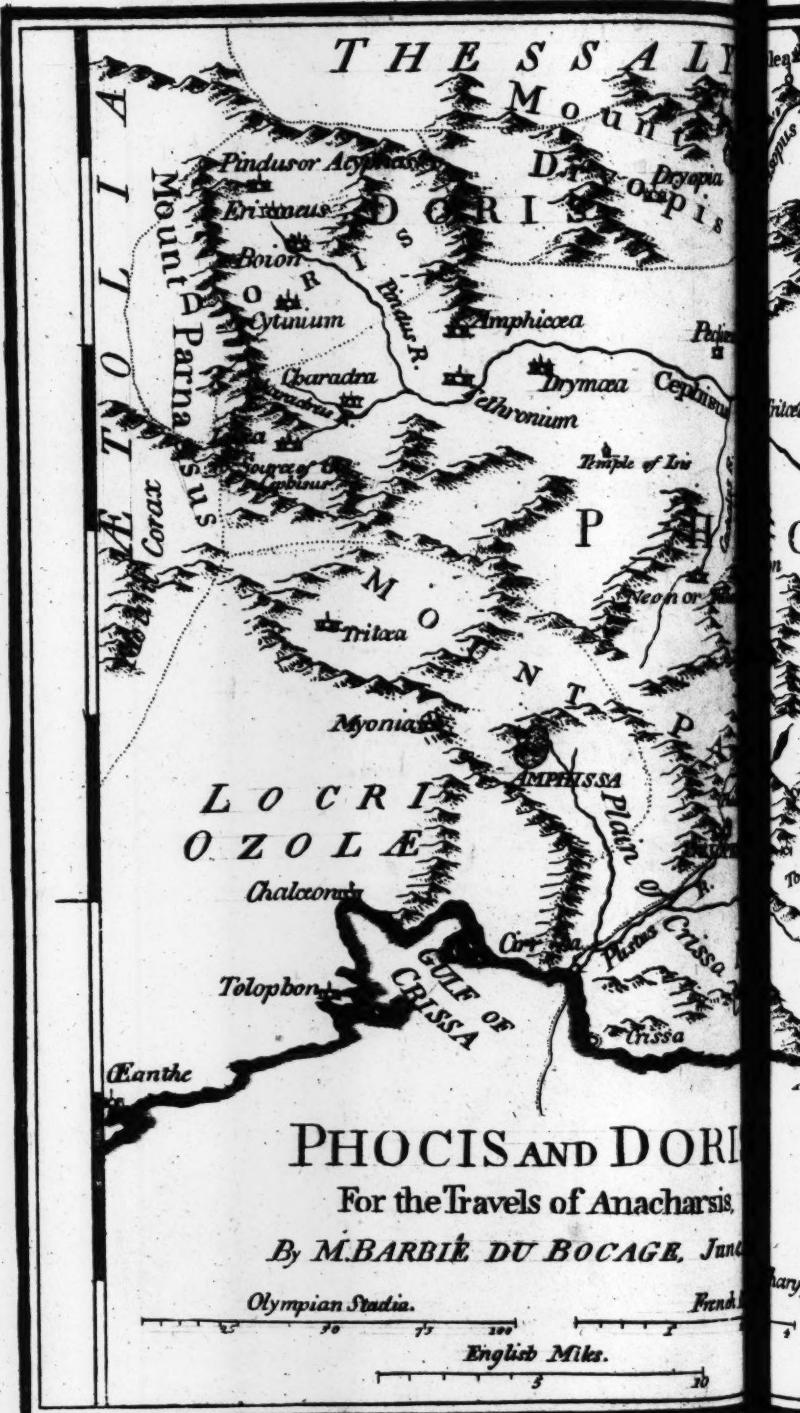


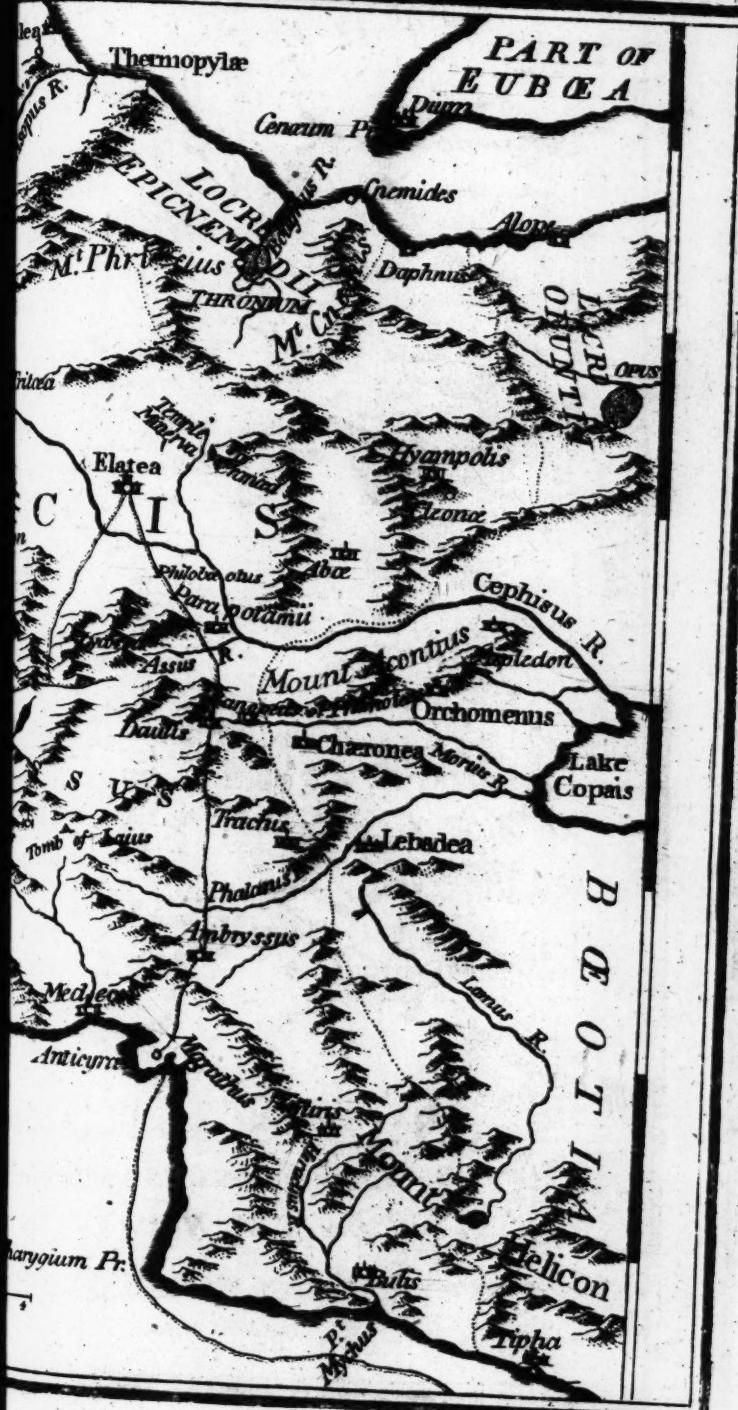
*View of the Panthenon.*

*Crayon sc.*



N<sup>o</sup>. 25.

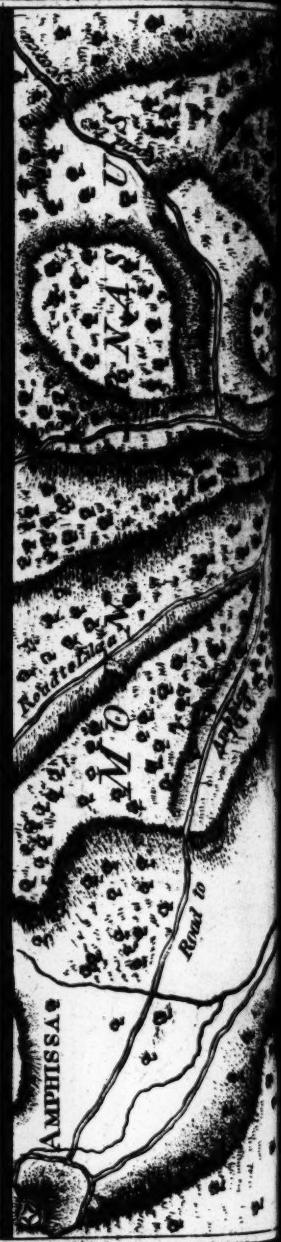


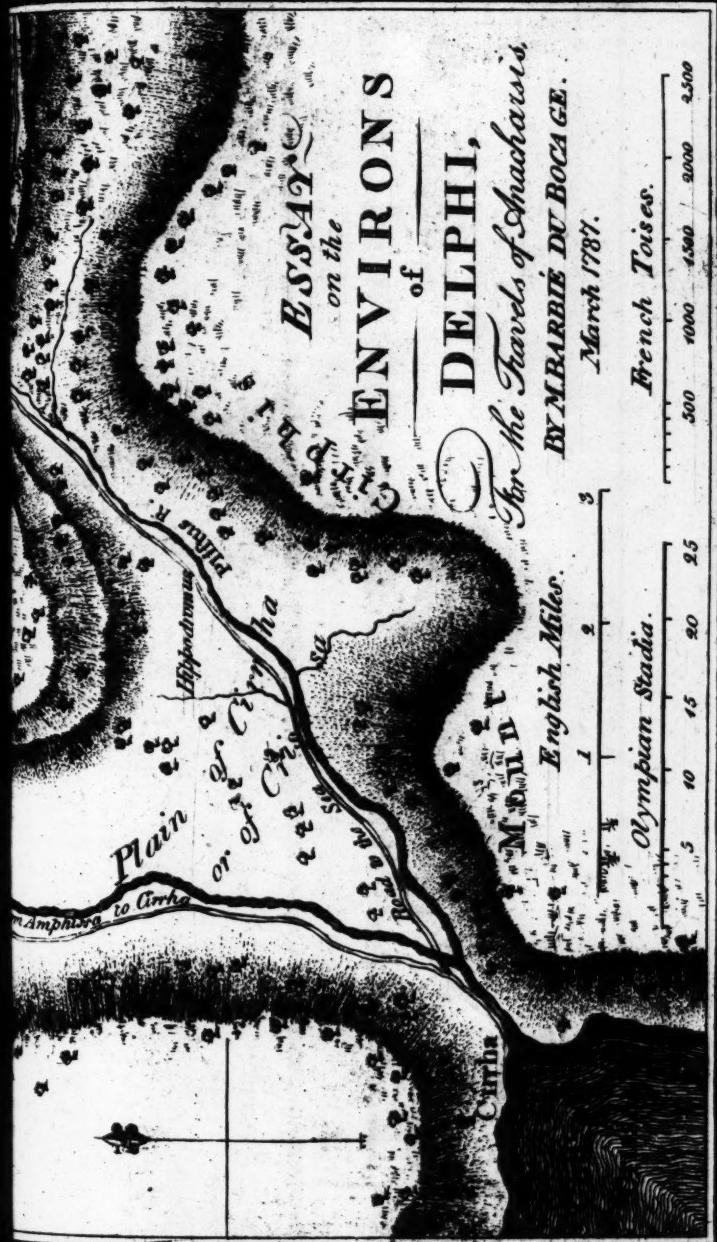


VOL. II. p. 45.

V. 16.

VIEW OF DELPHI AND THE TWO ROCKS OF PARNASSUS.

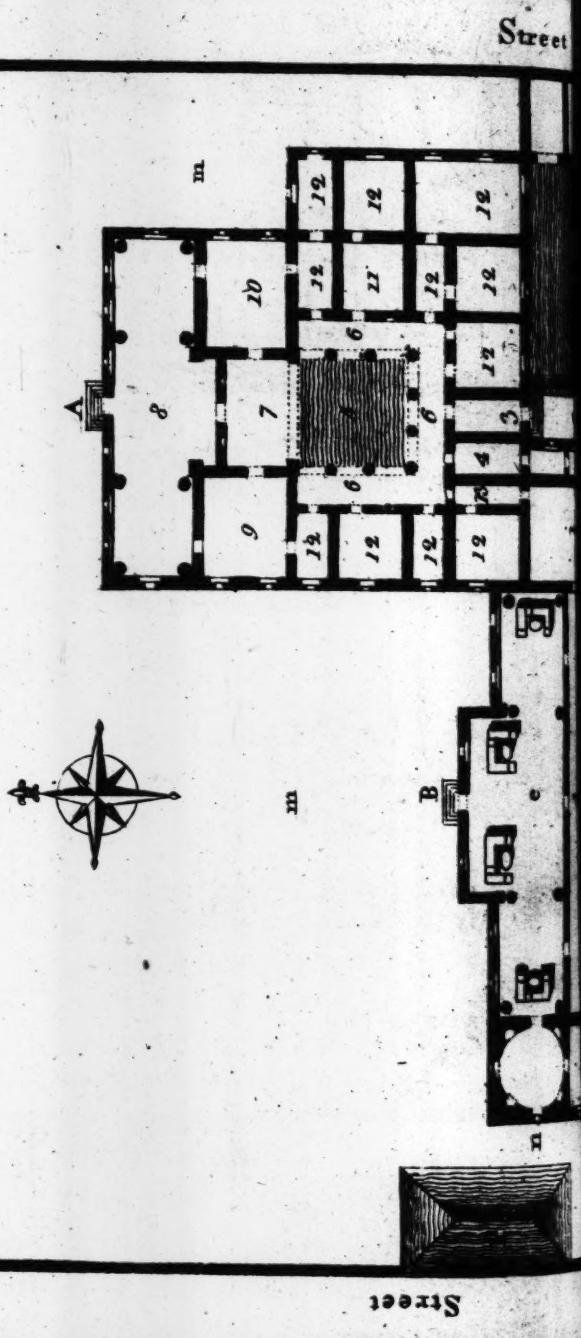


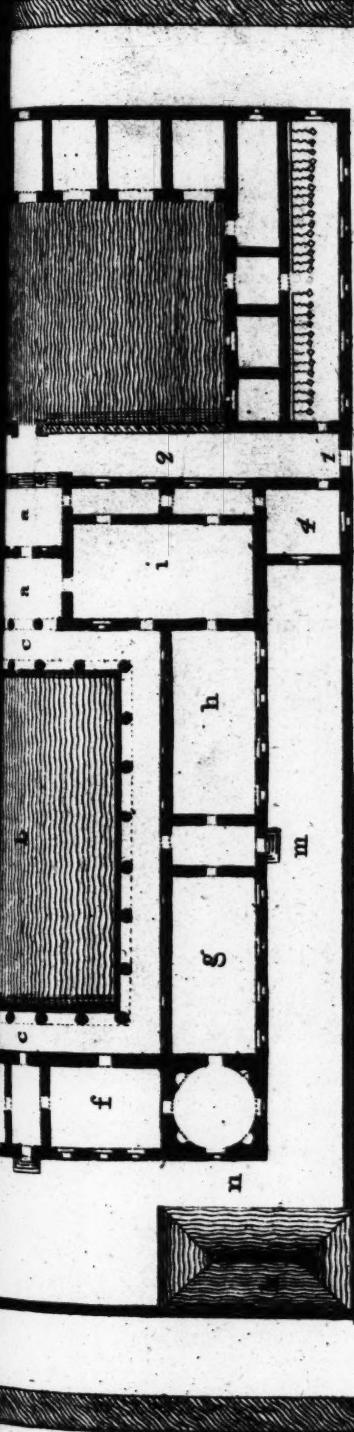


1. 27.

PLAN OF A GREECAN HOUSE,  
AFTER VITRUVIUS.

Vol. II. p. 83.





### A Apartment of the Wife.

1 Entrance or First Door to the Street.

2 Porfage called by Titurius Iter.

3 Second or inner Door.

4 Lodges of the Porters.

5 Peristyle.

6 Porticos.

7 Vestibule.

8 Work Shops.

9 Bed chamber or Thalamus.

10 Chamber for Visitors or Amphithalamus.

11 Dining Room.

12 Rooms for the Servants.

13 Communication between the apartment of the Wife and  
that of the Husband.

### B Apartment of the Husband.

1 Verbiules.

2 Great Peristyle.

3 Porticos.

4 Rhodian Portico.

5 Banqueting Hall.

6 Library's.

7 Gallery of Pictures.

8 Dining Room.

9 Halls of Audience and Conversation.

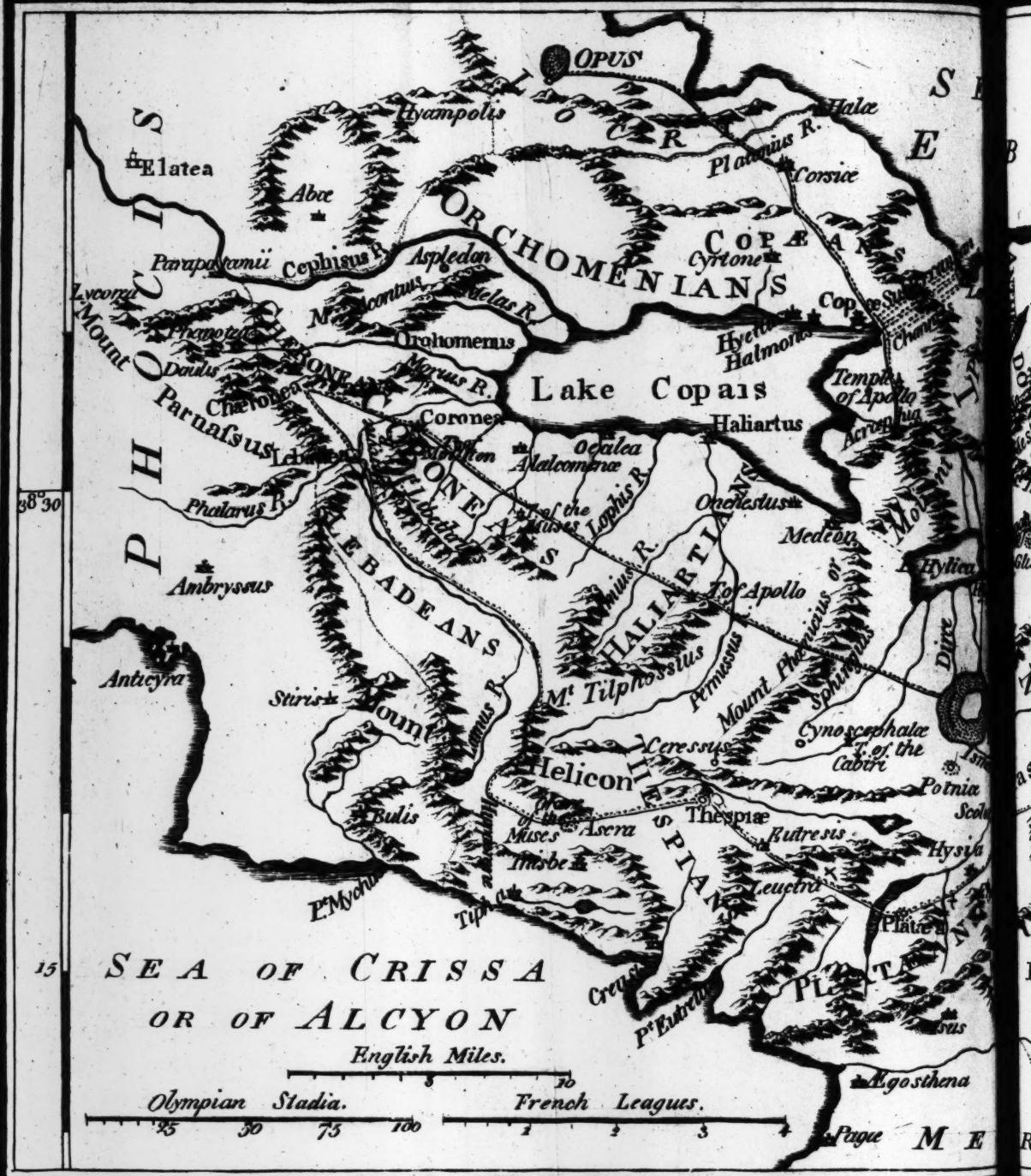
10 Apartments for the Guests.

11 Stables and Court yard.

12 Garden.

13 Alleys called Mefaulae.

N° 18.







# THESSALY,

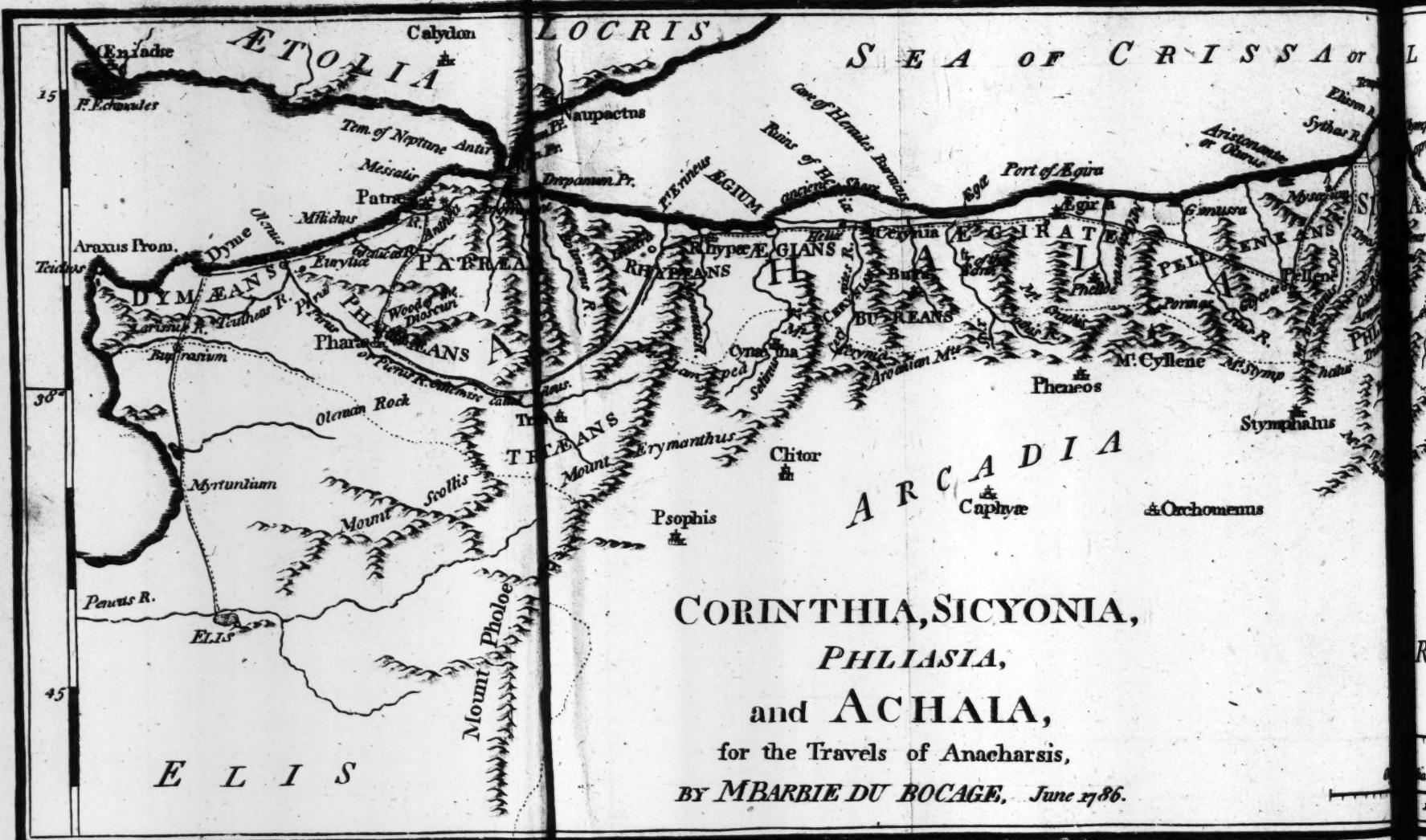
for the Travels of Anacharsis:

By M BARBIÉ DU BOCA GE.

January. 1788.

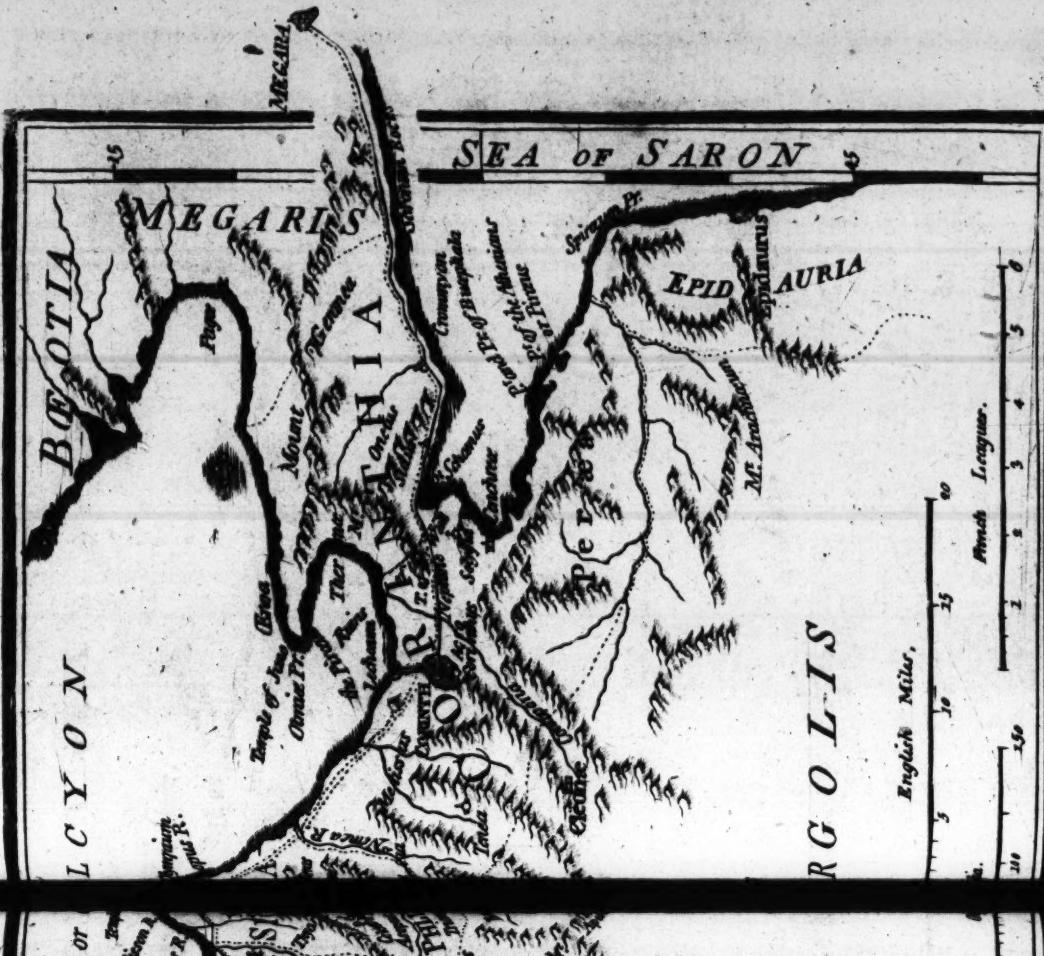


N.<sup>o</sup> 20.

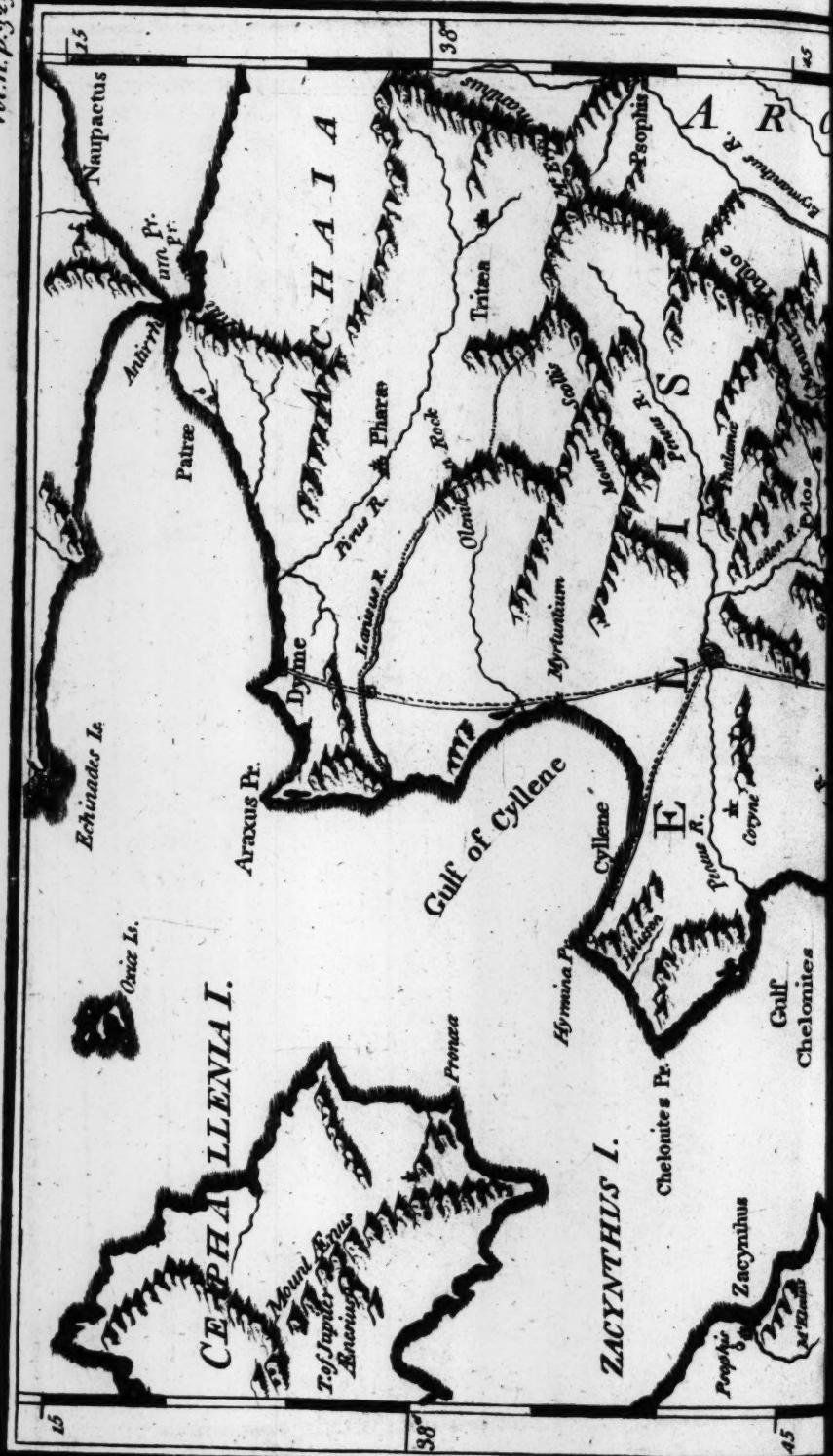


CORINTHIA, SICYONIA,  
PHLIASIA,  
and ACHALA,

for the Travels of Anacharsis,  
BY M. BARBIE DU BOGAGE. June 1786.



N. 21.



# ELIS

A.N.D

# TRIPHYLLIA

for the Travels of Anacharsis

By MARMIE, DU BOISAGE

August 1786.



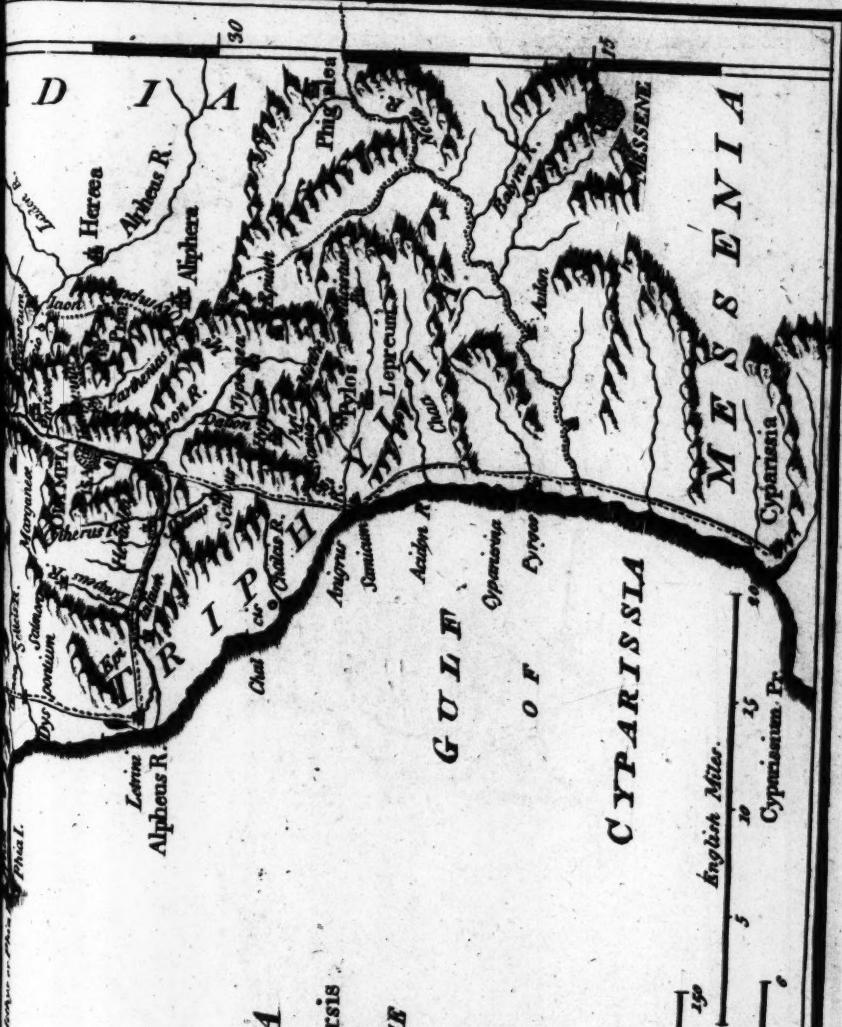
Olympian Stadia.

30	400	150	English Miles.
2	3	4	French League.
15	20	25	Cyprianian P.

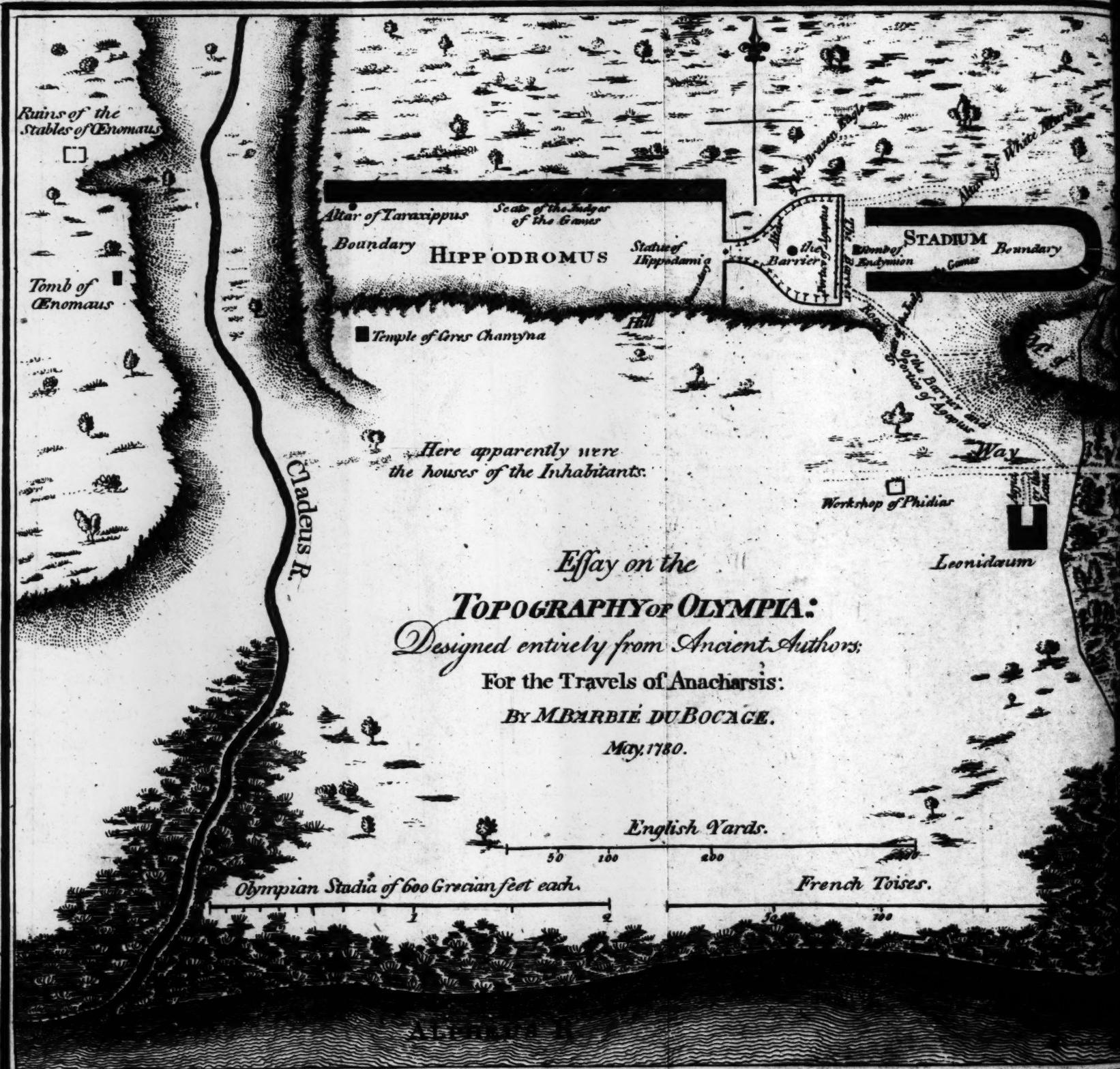
# CYPRISSIA

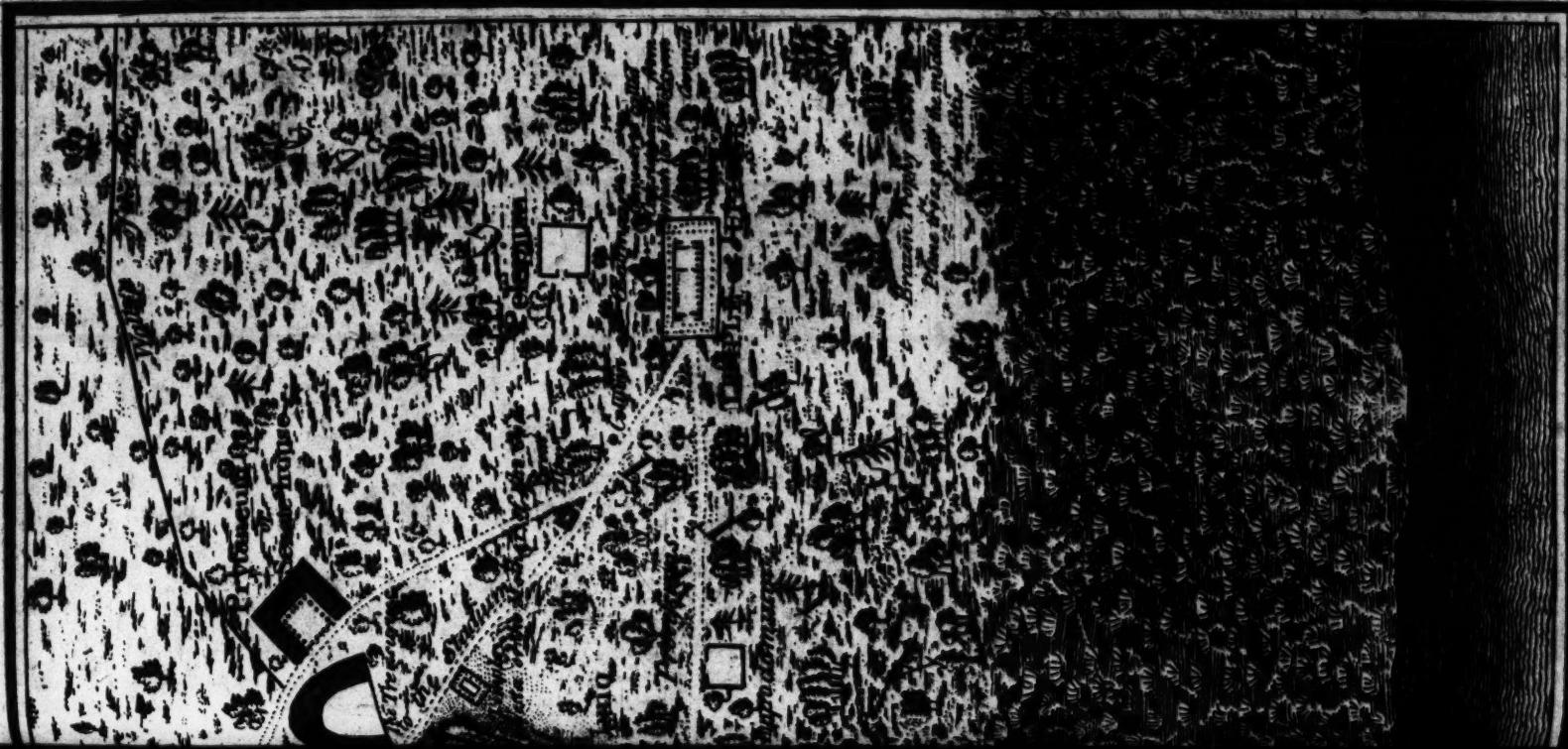
# MESSENIA

Cypriania



N.<sup>o</sup>.22.





N<sup>o</sup> 20.

50°

Strophades I.

45°

OF

Pyr.

37°

Cyparissium Prom.

Platamodes.

Braea

Sida R.

Protal.

Sphaerid.  
or  
Sphagia.

the Port

## MESSENIA,

For the Travels of Anacharsis;

By M. BARBIÉ DU BOCA GE.

January, 1786.

Olympian Stadia.

50 100 150

French Leagues.

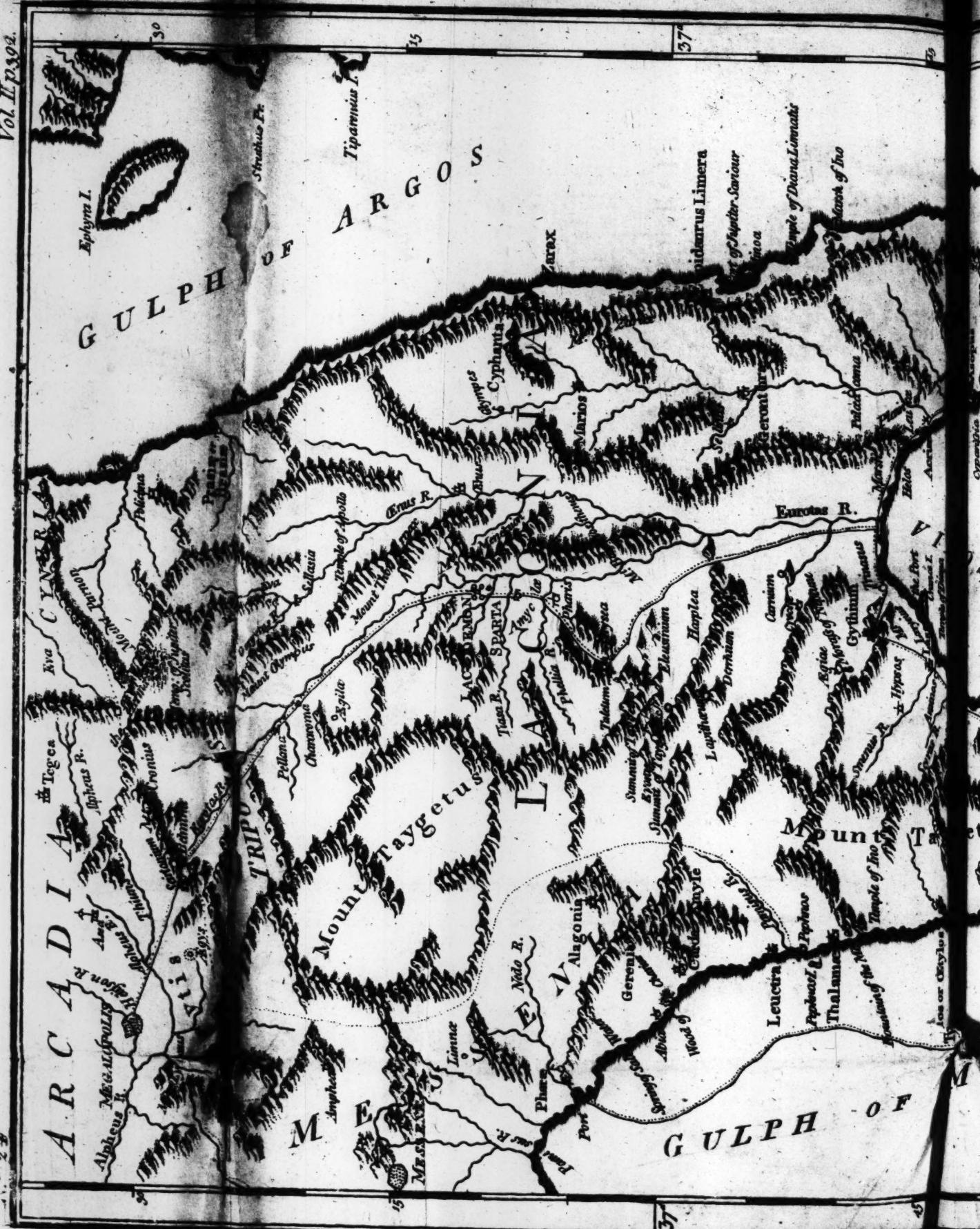
1 2 3 4 5 6

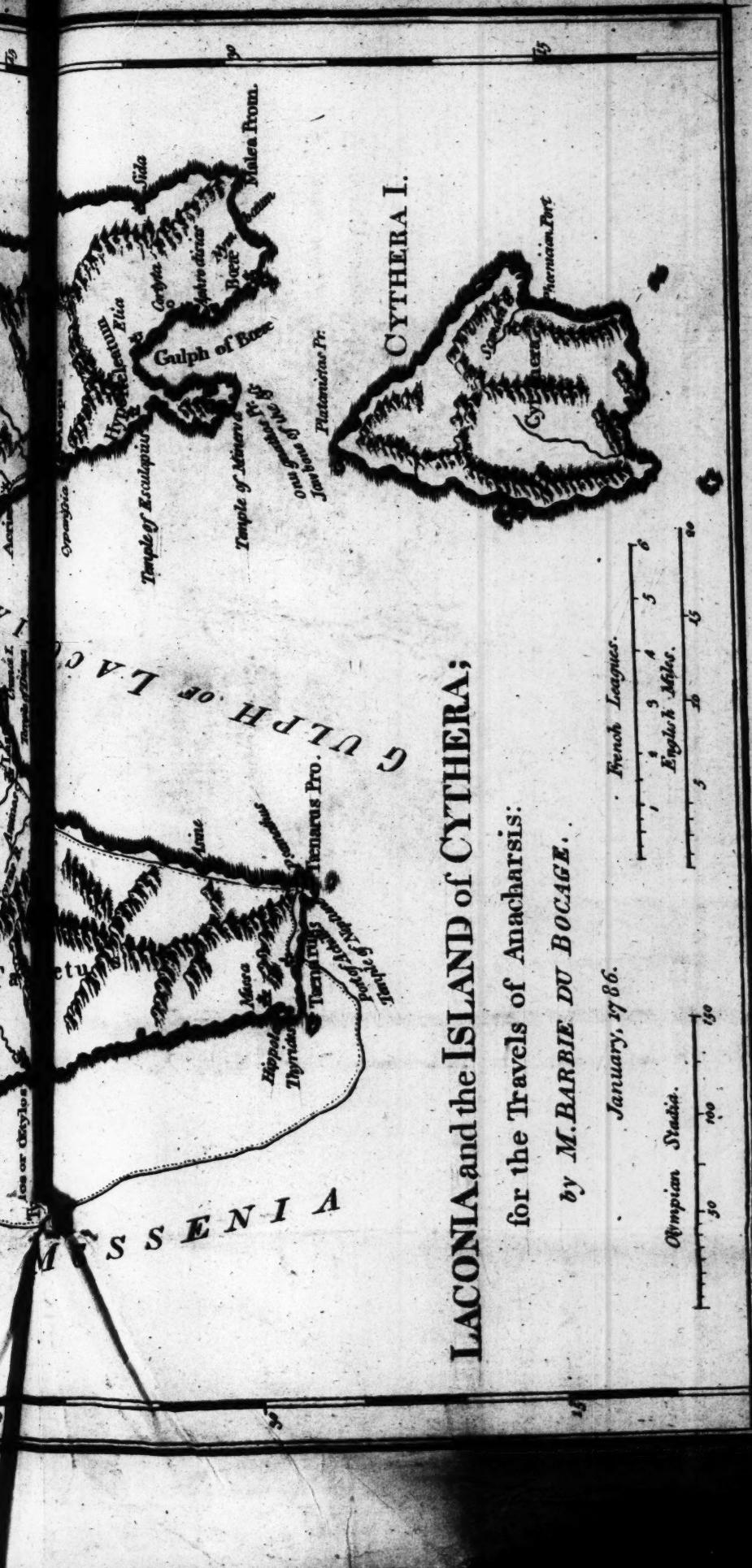
English Miles.

3 10 13

Onwards





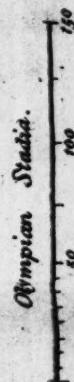
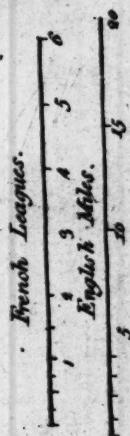


## LACONIA and the ISLAND of CYTHERA;

## for the Travels of Anacharsis:

By M. BARBIER DU BOCAGE.

January, 1786.

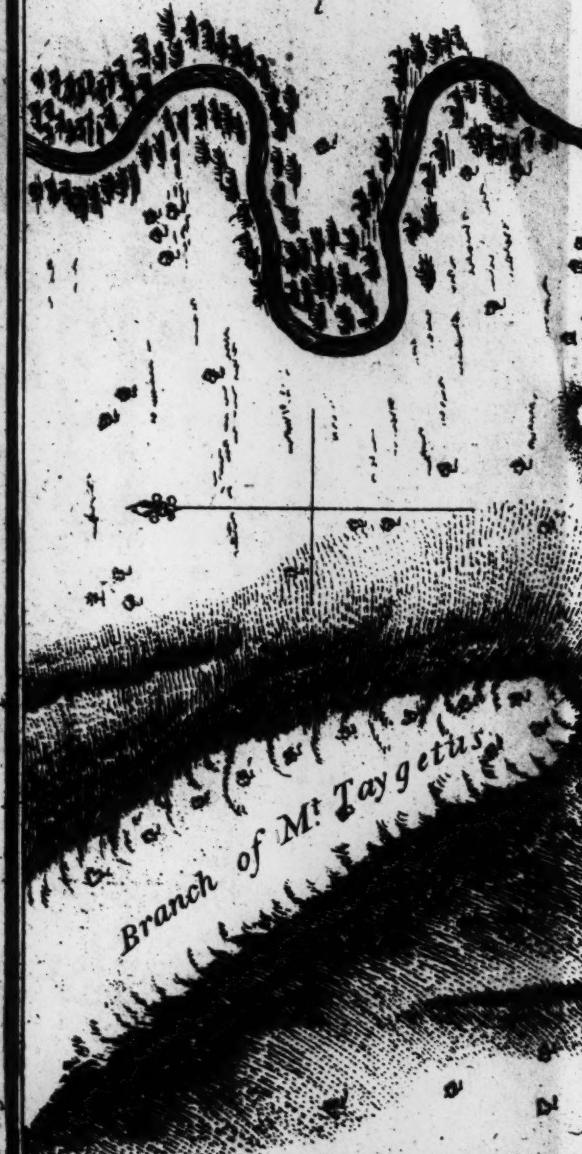


ESSAY  
on the *TOPOGRAPHY*  
OF  
SPARTA,

AND ITS ENVIRONS.

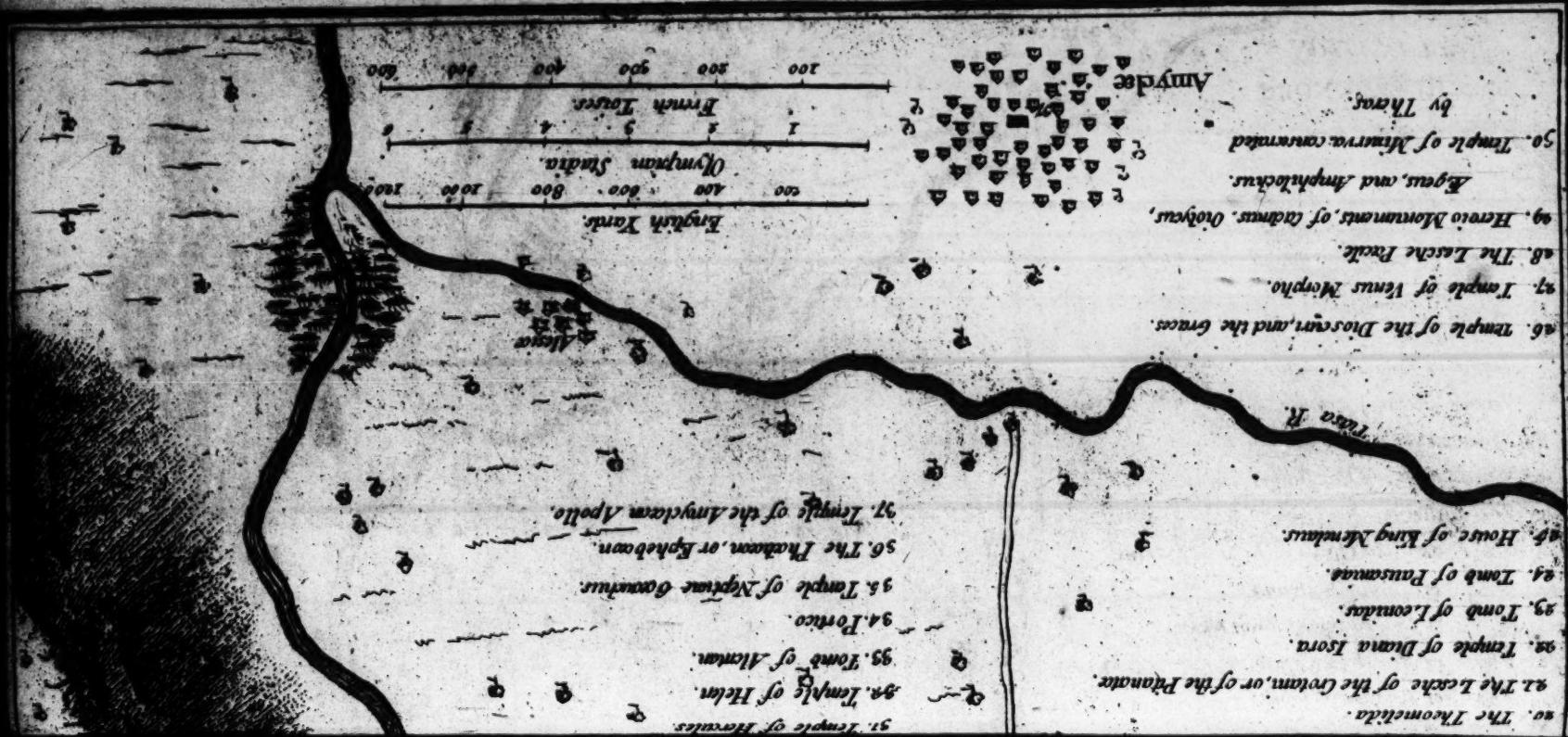
for the Travels of Anacharsis.

July 1783



EXPLANATION  
of the REFERENCES.

1. Temple of Materia Chalcicae.
2. Genus or Senate house of the Geromites.
3. Senate house of the Guardians of the Law.
4. The Chorus.
5. Temple of Liverpus.
6. House of King Demontes.
7. Temple of Diana Orthia.
8. Persian Portico.
9. Senate house of the Blatae.
10. The Ephoria.
11. The Decurio, or House of King Polydorus.
12. Temple of Diana Dicyna.
13. Tombs of the Eurypontidæan Kings.
14. Temple of the Argive Juno.
15. Temple of Bacchus Colonata.



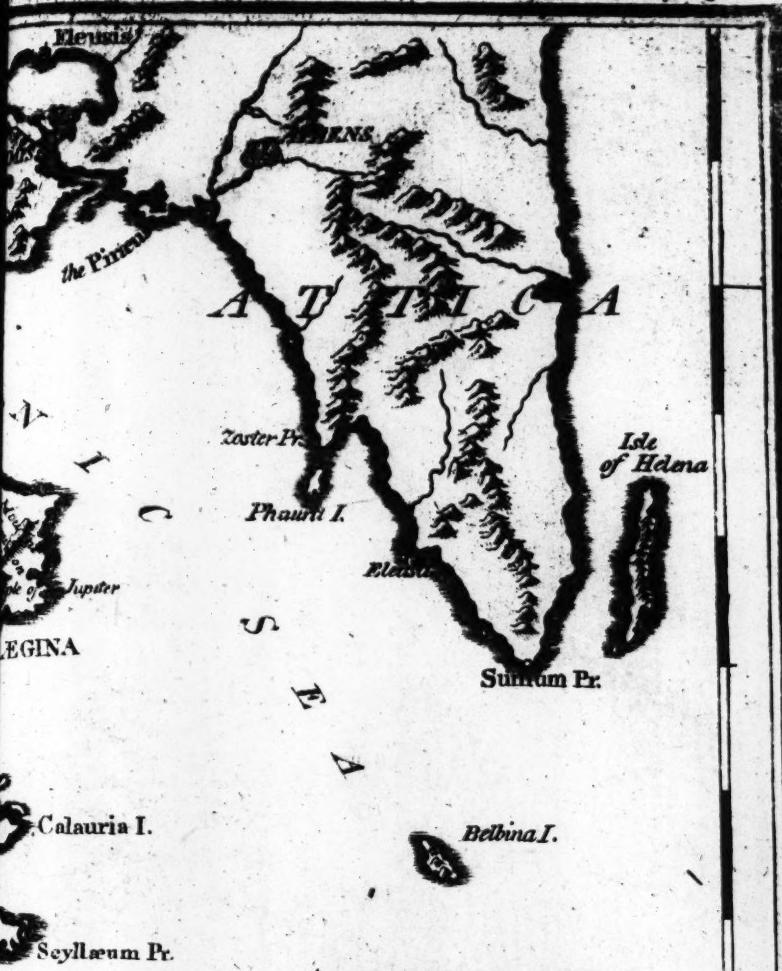
Nov. 26.





V. 27)





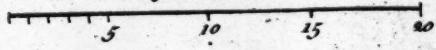
**ARGOLIS,  
EPIDAURIA, TRŒZENIA,  
HERMIONIS, the ISLE of AEGINA**

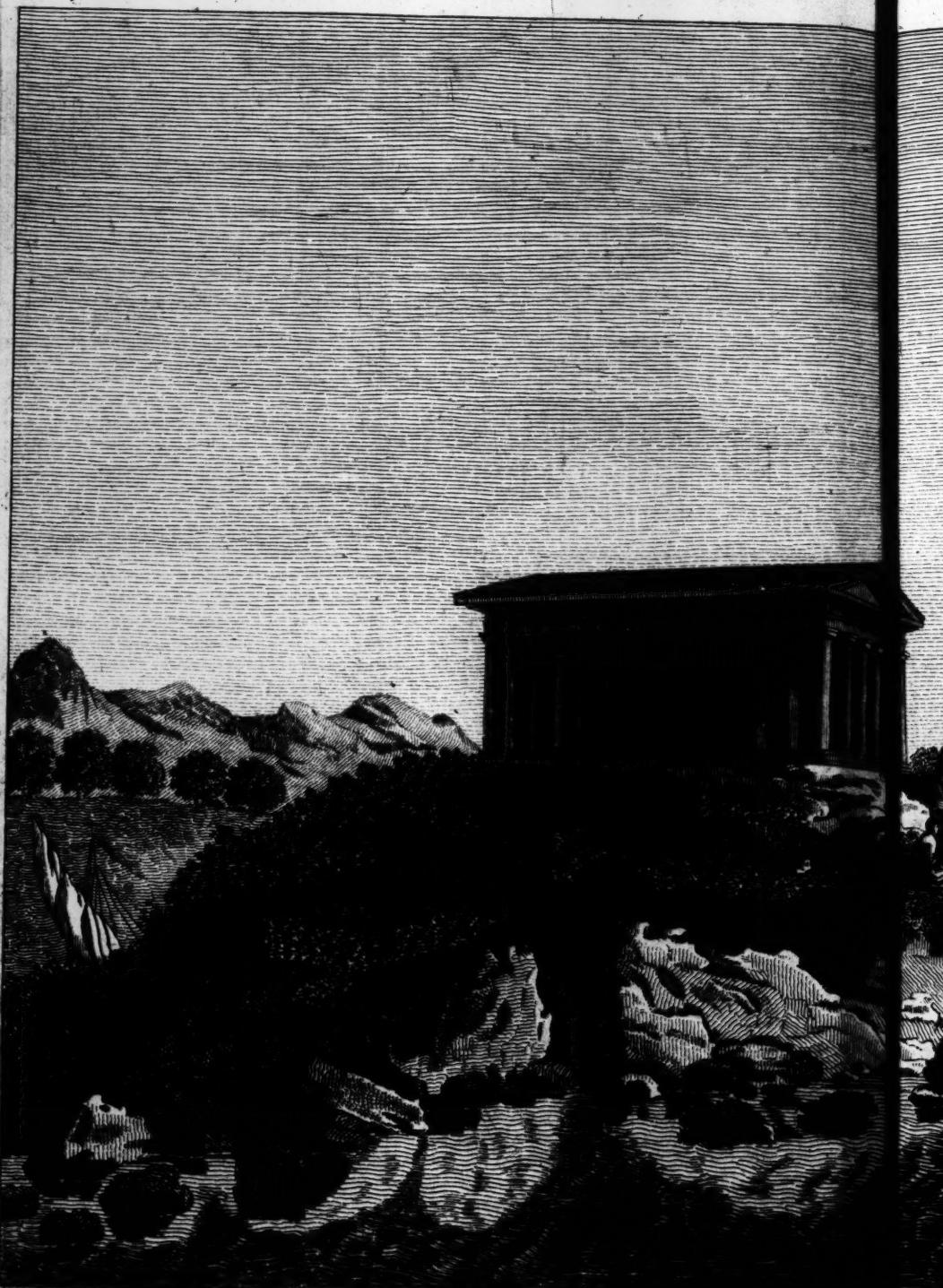
*AND CYNURIA,*  
for the Travels of Anacharsis;

*By M. BARBIÉ DU BOCAVE.*

*October. 1785.*

*English Miles.*





**PLATO** on the Promontory of SUNIUM

N<sup>o</sup> 28.



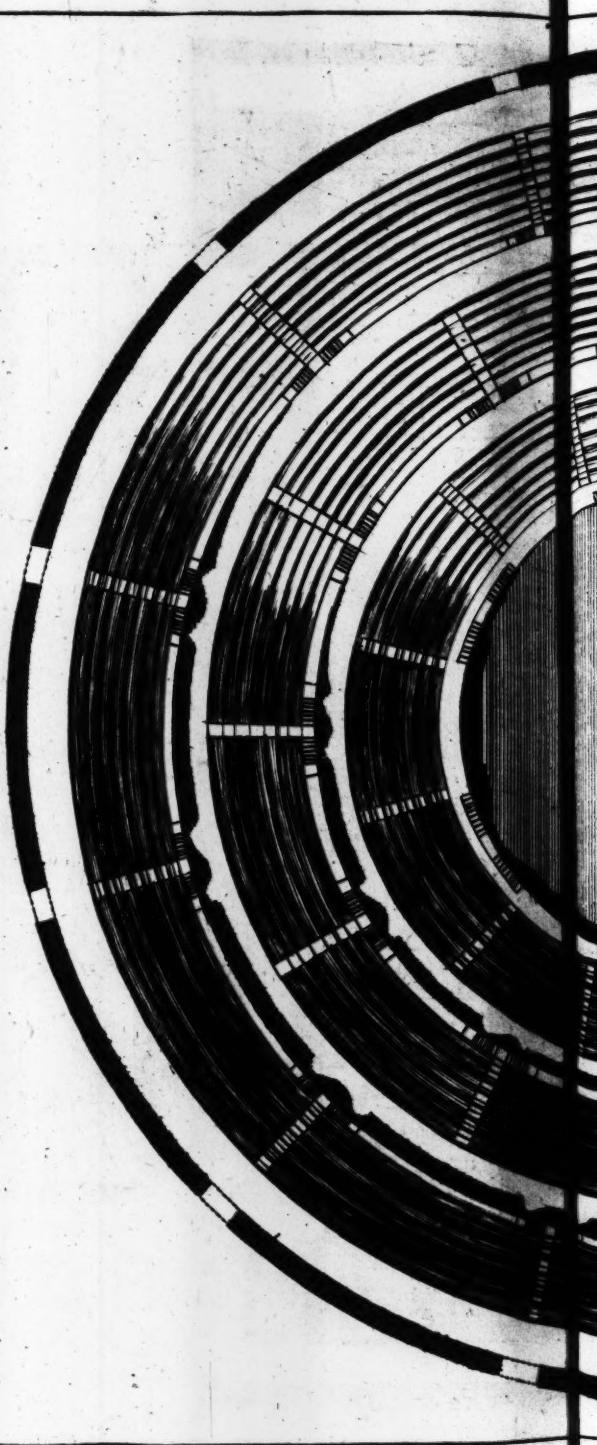
S. Clayton sculp.

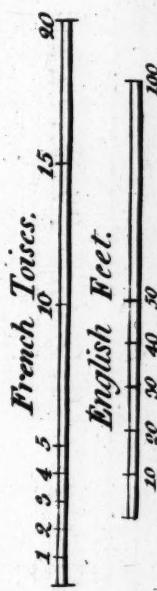
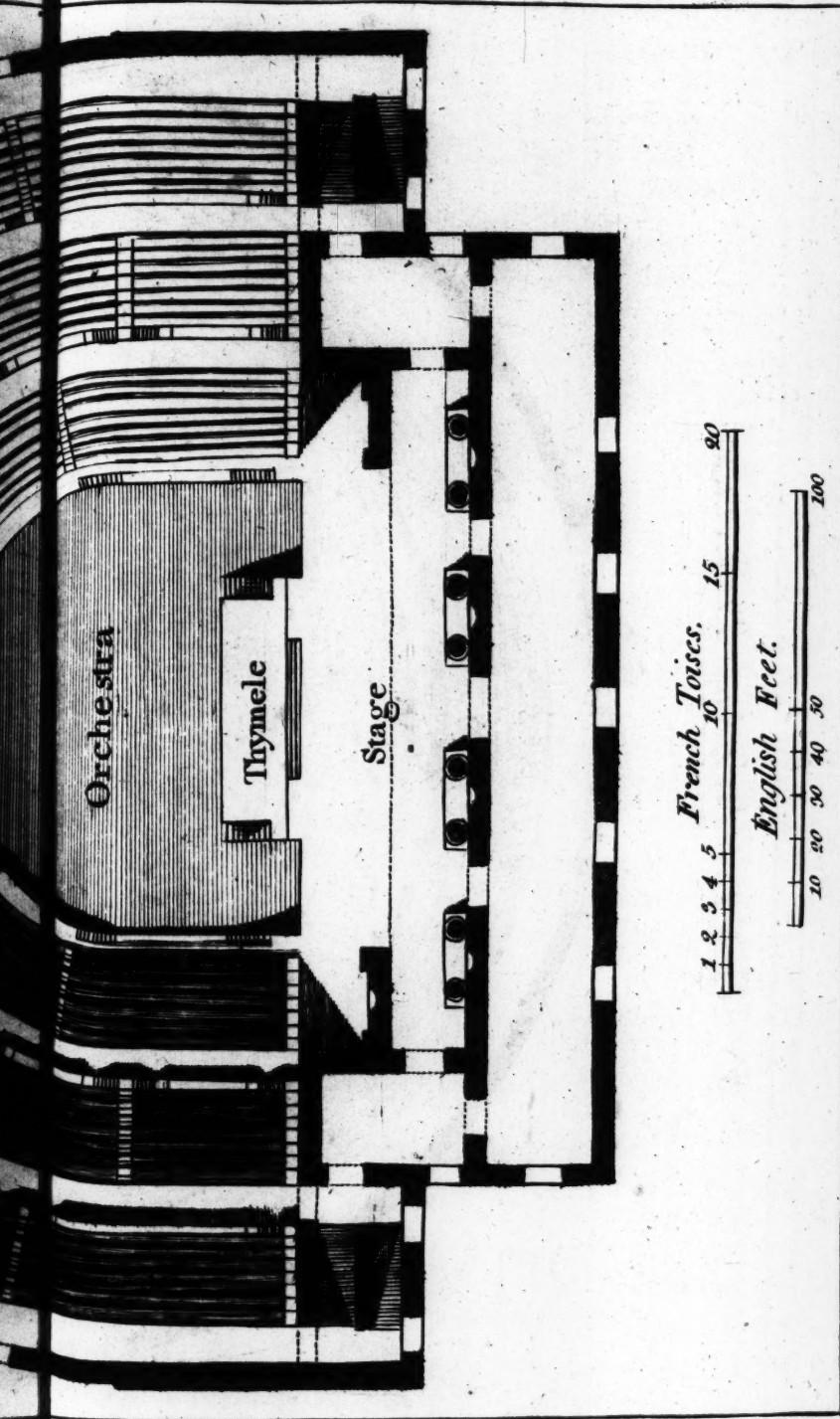
JESUS discoursing to his **DISCIPLES.**

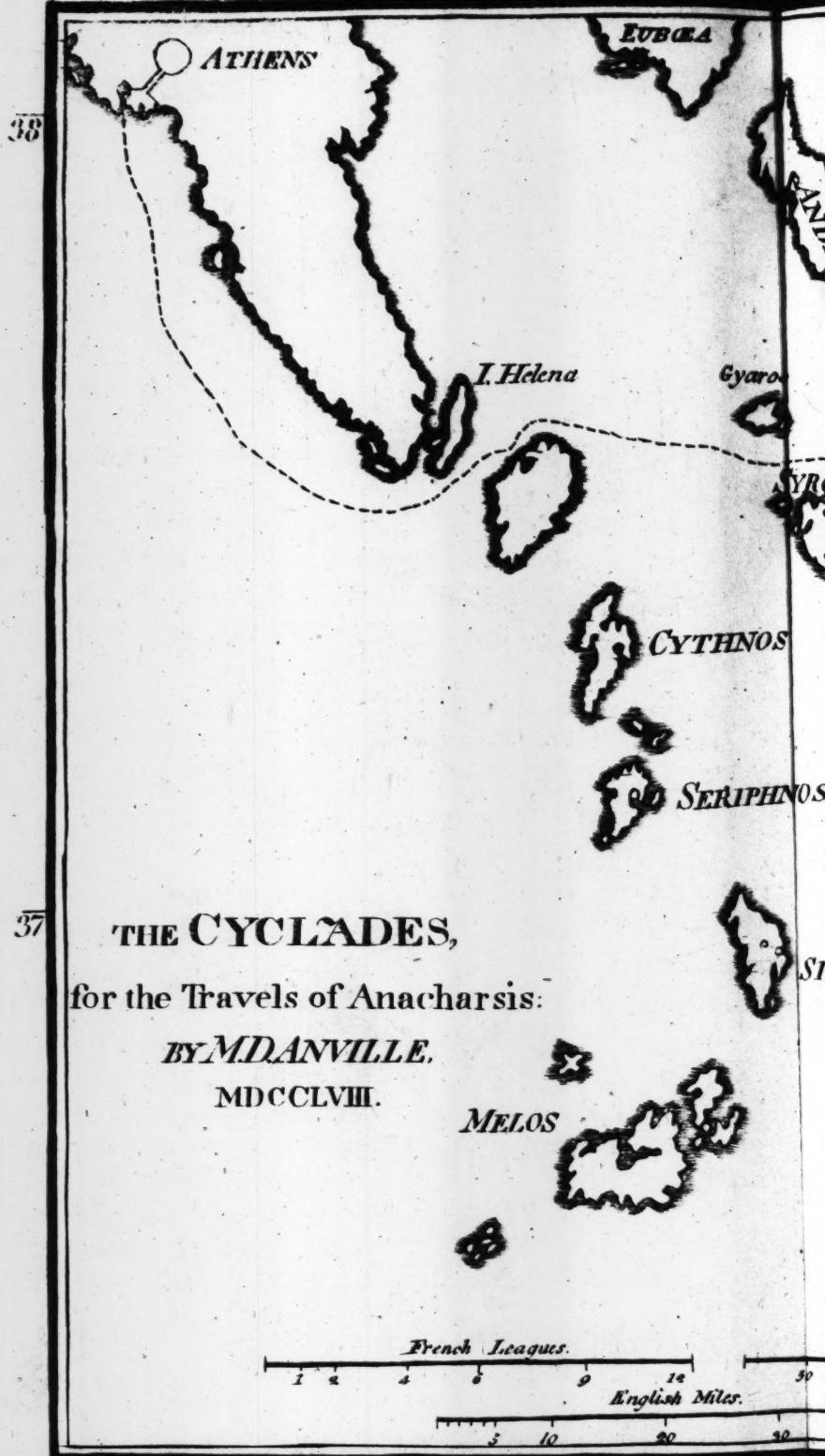
1. 29.

Vol. IV. p. 33.

ANCIENT GREEK THEATRE.









COIN\$ from the Cabinet of the King of France.

*For the Travels of Anacharsis.*

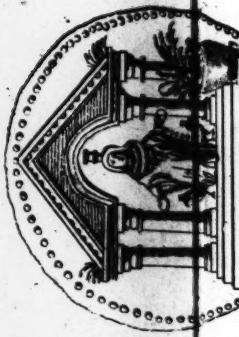
N°1. N°2.



N°3.



N°4.





N<sup>o</sup>1. Coin of Athens, on which appears the Grotto of Pan the staircase leading to the Citadel and some Monuments consecrated to Minerva. see Chap. XIII.

N<sup>o</sup>2. Coin of Arcadia. The God Pan seated on Mount Olympus, the name of which is indicated by the letters ΟΔΥΣΣ.

N<sup>o</sup>3. Coin of Cnidus, the Venus of Praxitels. Chap. LXXXII. The same figure is represented on an engraved gem in the Cabinet of the Duke of Orleans. see the Description of that Cabinet.

N<sup>o</sup>4. Coin of Samos. The Temple and Statue of Juno. On the Steps of the Vestibule a pot or vase in which is a shrub intended for the Agnus Castrus. Chap. LXXXIV.

Clayton Jr.



